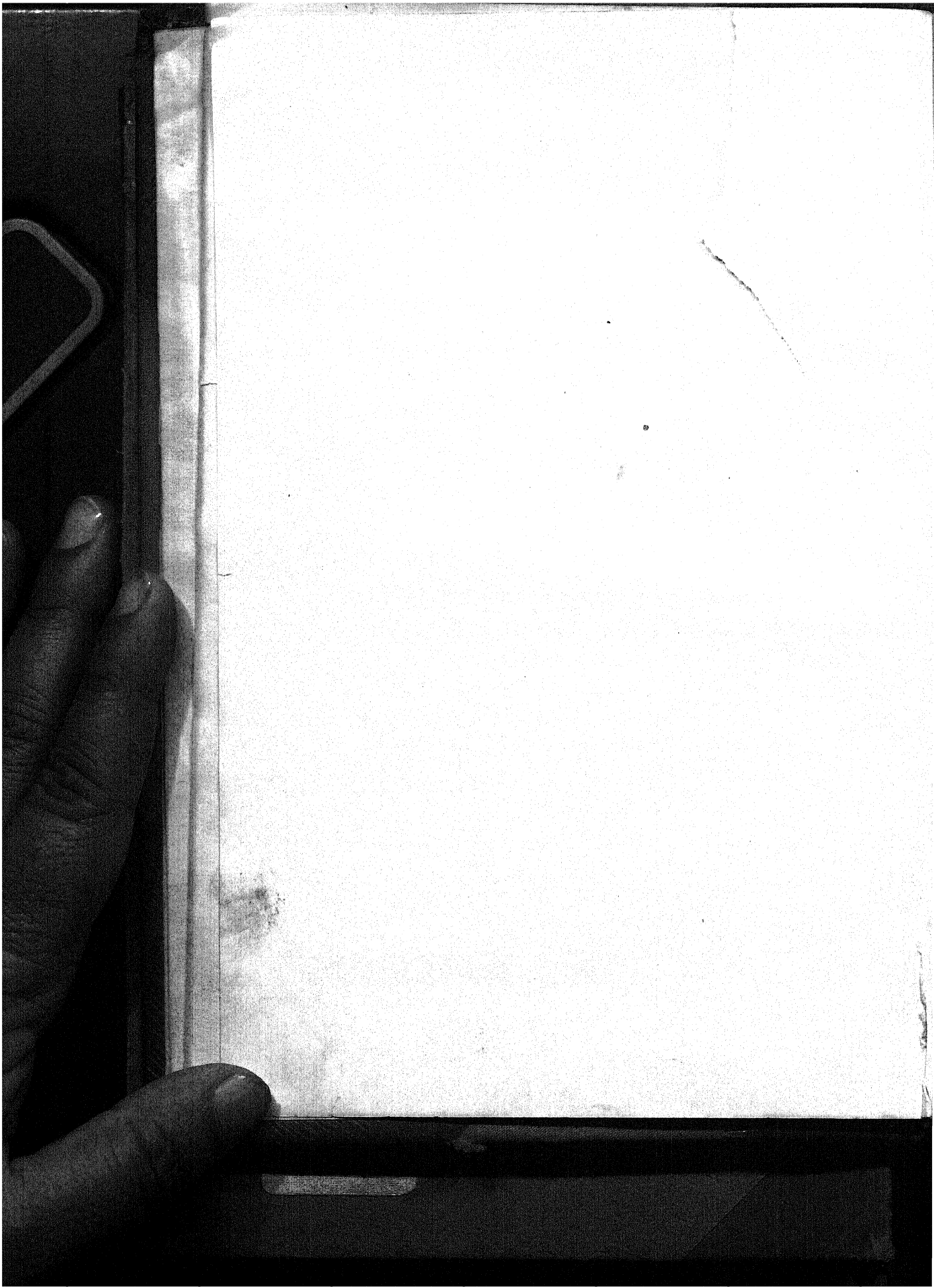

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A CHRISTIAN CROSS WITH A PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE TRAVANCORE STATE

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(*Read on 11th September* 1924.)

I.

MR. A. R. RAMANATH AYYAR, Superintendent of Archæology in the Travancore State, kindly sent me, for decipherment, with his letter dated, Trivandrum 5th February 1924, "a photo-print of a Cross, which was recently discovered at Kaḍamaṭṭam in the Travancore State, having a Pahlavi inscription engraved on a canopying ribbon round it." Mr. Ayyar wrote: "It may be noted that the portion of the inscription on the left limb of the arch is identical with the shorter sentence found on the Crosses at St. Thomas's Mount and at Koṭṭayam, while the remaining portion of the writing seems to consist of two short sentences separated by a + mark." The photo-print was not clear. So, I wrote on 13th February and requested "that a full-size squeeze of it may be taken." Mr. Ayyar thereupon sent me, with his letter of 18th February, an estampage of the inscription, and then, later on, sent also a photograph of a better impression. He repeated in this second letter what was said in the first about the writing on the left limb of the Cross, that it was "identical with the shorter sentence engraved in the same portion of the three other Crosses

at Kottayam and St. Thomas's Mount." He then added: "The equal-armed Cross, cut out in low relief under the inscribed belt, is similar to that found at the Mount and that the sculpture seems to be of a slightly later date, but this question of age will have to be decided by Pahlavi scholars on a consideration of the script engraved in the record in question."

As to the situation of the Church in which the Cross is found, the particular position in which it is found and the sculptural details of the Cross, I will quote here at some length Mr. Ayyar's remarks, which he has made in his official Report, and of which he has kindly sent me a copy with his letter of 22nd April 1924. He writes:

> "This Cross is found embedded in the south wall of the sanctum in the Jacobite-Syrian Church at Kaḍamaṭṭam, a village six miles to the west of Muvattupula, a taluk-centre in the Travancore State and about 40 miles from Kottayam where the other two Crosses are found; but my informants were unable to give me any interesting details as to whether this Cross had been preserved in the Church from a very long time or whether it was brought down from some other place and fixed up in its present position. The Church which is picturesquely situated on the top of a small hillock does not claim any antiquity, epigraphical or architectural, except for the presence of this Persian Cross. This new Cross resembles the bigger Kottayam Cross in its sculptural details, *i.e.*, it is an equal-armed Greek type with fleur-de-lis extremities, and it stands on a pedestal of three steps. It is flanked by two detached pilasters of the same type as that of the other two examples and on the capitals of these are also found two couchant *makaras* or fish-monsters facing each other and supporting with their gaping mouths a semi-circular belt (*prabhāvalī*) arching above the Cross. The outer rim of this arch is represented as ornamentally curving out in two hooks on either side of some central flower-and-bead cluster. In the place occupied by a down-turned dove with outspread wings (symbolizing the Holy Ghost) and shown as pecking at the top of the upper limb of the Cross, we have in the Kaḍamaṭṭam example a somewhat curiously shaped object which resembles a crown or a bishop's mitre, or worse still a shuttle-cock; but as these have no symbolical significance, we have to take this object to be an extremely crude representation of a dove, whose extended wings have the outlines of two inturned rose leaves, whose body and tail are inartistically sculptured as five straight feather-tipped strands, and whose head and beak (looking like a turnip) are hardly recognizable as parts of a bird's anatomy. On either side of the lower limb of the Cross are the same floral devices

branching out upwards in conventional curls and a semi-circular triple band envelops the steps in a rainbow arch. Five oblong niche-like depressions have been crudely picked out for the sake of ornament on the plain pedestal below this cavalry of three steps and some later (Romish ?) enthusiast has conveniently managed to shape them into the abbreviated formula I. N. R. I. (*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum*). The portion containing the Pahlavi writing is a narrow ribbon of stone which springs at either extremity of this base and going up straight to a height of about 15″ curves round in a semi-circular arch of 9″ radius enveloping the top of the Cross and its halo-circle.

"The inscription on this band seems to consist of three short sentences separated by two + (cross) marks. Of these the portion running down the left limb from one such mark at the top corner appears to be identical with the shorter sentence found in the same position in all the other three Crosses, both at Koṭṭayam and the Mount; but the remaining portion appears to be different and to consist of two sentences marked off by the other dividing + symbol. Sculpturally considered, this crudely wrought Cross at Kaḍamaṭṭam seems to be a later copy of the one at St. Thomas's Mount; but an authoritative opinion as to its probable age can be pronounced *only* by Pahlavi scholars, after a careful consideration of the script employed in the present record."

It appears from the *Indian Antiquary*[1] of December 1923, that the slab of the Cross was discovered at the close of the year 1921 by Mr. T. K. Joseph. The discoverer writes (*op. cit.* p. 355):

"As the epigraph was in Pahlavi and not in Vaṭṭeḻuttu, I forwarded a copy of it to the Pahlavi scholar Dr. Cassartelli. The inscription seems to be a replica of the one on the other two similar slabs. Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., of Darjeeling, in a letter to me dated 27th May 1922, says: 'I have compared it with the Mylapore (Greek Mount) inscription, and have little doubt but yours is a replica of it.'"

Rev. Father Hosten has referred to this new Cross in his article entitled "Christian Archæology in Malabar" in the December 1922 issue of the *Catholic Herald of India*. He says there that "the art displayed by the Kaṭamarṟam Cross. . . may help to determine certain almost obliterated designs of the Mylapore Cross, and this may lead to a very distinct advance in the interpretation of the tradition of the St. Thomas Christians." Rev. Father Hosten has described again, in detail, from photographs sent to him recently by the Archæological Department of Tra-

[1] Vol. 52, pp. 355-6.

vancore, the design of the Crosses and the symbolism on them.[2] In his description, he speaks of the pillars of the St. Thomas Mount as "appearing to be more primitive, more Persepolitan(?), than those of the Koṭṭayam Cross, No. 1."

Mr. Joseph does not tell us how Dr. Cassartelli, the learned Bishop of Sanford, has read and translated the inscription. As far as I know, his transliteration and translation are not published.

From Dr. Burnell's article[3] which is referred to later on, and other subsequent writings on the subject we gather that the Mount Church Cross was discovered by the Portuguese when they were digging in 1547 the foundation for a new Church, the Mount Church on its present site. They came across the ruins of old Christian buildings, and in these ruins, they found the Cross with the Pahlavi inscription. This they installed in their new Church where it now stands. According to Dr. Burnell, miracles were believed to have been worked with this Cross. This Cross was soon unhesitatingly identified with the one which the Apostle St. Thomas is said to have embraced while on the point of death and its miraculous virtues specially obtained great fame.[4]

II.

In reply to Mr. Ayyar's inquiries, I had submitted my reading and rendering of the inscription to him with my letter of 15th April. After I announced my paper to our Society, I learnt that my translation, sent to Mr. Ayyar, was published in the June 1924 issue of the *Academy* by Mr. T. K. Joseph, the discoverer of the inscription, to whom it seems to have been passed on by Mr. Ayyar. In this paper, I beg to treat the whole subject at some length. If I do not mistake, this is the first attempt at decipherment in relation to this Cross.

Decipherment of the Inscriptions on the previous Crosses.— Mr. Ayyar and Mr. Joseph have referred to three other Crosses of the kind previously discovered and as Mr. Ayyar has spoken of a short sentence of the recently discovered Cross as being identical

2 *Indian Athœneum*, August 1923, p. 67 f.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, November 1874, pp. 308-16.

4 T. K. Joseph, *Indian Antiquary*, December 1923, p. 355.

with a similar sentence in the previously discovered Crosses, I will, at first, speak briefly of these Crosses, their inscriptions, and the attempts made to decipher them. If I do not mistake, this is the first time that the subject of the Crosses inscribed in Pahlavi has been brought before our Society, and so, I think, a brief account will be of some use to our local students.

(*a*) The Crosses with Pahlavi inscriptions were first discovered in 1873 by Dr. A. C. Burnell, who drew the attention of scholars to them in a letter, dated "Mangalore, South Canara, Madras Presidency, May 12th, 1873," addressed to the London *Academy* and published in its issue of 14th June 1873 (pp. 237-8). In that letter, he expressed an expectation, that "the old Syrian Churches (at Niraṇam, Kayaṁkullam, etc.) will no doubt furnish other copies" (p. 238). The recently discovered inscription under examination has fulfilled Dr. Burnell's expectation, and we should not be surprised if some more Crosses with inscriptions are discovered in that part of the country. In the same letter, Dr. Burnell had promised to get the inscription lithographed and send copies of the lithograph to Pahlavi Scholars and he had done so.

Dr. Burnell's interest in the discovery of the Pahlavi inscriptions was from the point of view of supporting Prof. Weber, who had, in his essay on the Rāmāyaṇa "suspected Greek influences in the composition of that poem" (*op. cit.* p. 237). He said: "It will now, in consequence of this discovery, be possible to prove that much in the modern philosophical schools of India comes from some form of Christianity derived from Persia; and this fact at once explains also the origin of the modern Vedānta sects in Southern India exclusively." Dr. Burnell added: "The number of these tablets proves that there must have been [Christian] communities in several places, and those large enough to have Churches, both on the S. W. and S. E. coasts of India." The early Christian settlers from Persia were taken to be Manichæns, and Dr. Burnell thought, that Manigrāmam, the name of the settlement of the Persian Christians, came from Mānī, the founder of Manichæism. Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānuja and Madhvācārya, who founded the modern schools of Vedānta, were all supposed

to have come under the influence of Christian settlers whose settlements were not far from the towns of these founders.

(*b*) Dr. Burnell then published a pamphlet, entitled "On some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India." It was printed, in 1873, at the Mission Press in Mangalore.

(*c*) This pamphlet was reprinted with additions by Dr. Burnell in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1874 (vol. 3, pp. 308-16), under the heading "On some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India," with four figures. These are: (1) The Mount Cross, (2 & 3) the Sassanian and Chaldeo-Pahlavi attestation to a grant, and (4) the Tablet at Koṭṭayam.

(*d*) On the appearance of Dr. Burnell's pamphlet, Dr. Martin Haug, attempted a reading and translation in the *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung* (No. 29) of 29th January 1874. Haug's reading and rendering are given by Burnell in the reprint of his pamphlet in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1874 (p. 314).

(*e*) Then Dr. E. W. West gave his reading and rendering while reviewing Dr. Burnell's above pamphlet, in the *Academy* of 24th January 1874 (vol. 5, pp. 96-7). He gave two readings and two translations, varying according to the position of the lines, *i. e.*, when one read the upper and longer line first or the shorter line first. Again for the short line, he submitted an alternative reading and rendering.

(*f*) Thereafter, in 1892, Prof. Harlez gave his reading and translation, before the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, which met at Paris (*Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists*, Paris, 1892).[5]

(*g*) Then, in the *Epigraphia Indica* of 1896-97 (vol. 4, pp. 174-6), Dr. West gave an amended reading and translation.[6] Herein he read the long line first.

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[5] *Vide* Dastur Darabji Peshotan Sanjana's paper in the *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume.*

[6] In a brief paper, read before the Jarthoshti Din nikhol karnari Mandli, on 14th November 1896, I drew the attention of our Parsee scholars to Dr. West's above-mentioned article in the *Epigraphia Indica* and gave a brief account of the Pahlavi inscriptions in Madras. *Vide* my Gujarati Iranian essays (ઈરાની વિષયો), part III, pp. 193–96; also my *Glimpse into the Work of the Jarthoshti Din ni khol karnari Mandli*, p. 70.

(*h*) Then Shams-ul-ulama Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana gave four alternative readings and renderings in his paper entitled "The Pahlavi Inscription on the Mount Cross in Southern India".[7]

III.

Doubt as to the Script being Pahlavi.—Before I proceed further, I will say here a few words on the subject of the doubt as to whether the script of these inscriptions is Pahlavi. Mr. Ayyar in his letter of 16th May 1924 writes:

> "While all Persian scholars, though they may have certain disagreements in its interpretation, are however decided that the script employed in the record is Pahlavi, it is passing strange that Dr. Bernard of St. Thomas of the Mannanum (Travancore) Carmellite Seminary should, in his *History of the St. Thomas Christians* (in Malayalam), give a curious preference to the interpretation which certain Brahmans of Mylapore are supposed to have offered to the Portuguese in the 16th century and that Fr. Burthey of Trichinopoly, more interested in theology than archæology, should have declared the script and language of the record to be Aramaic and Tamil respectively."

Thus, giving an expression to his surprise, Mr. Ayyar has sent me "two prints of the Koṭṭayam Crosses wherein," he says, he has "successfully combined separate photos of the Crosses and the estampages of their inscriptions so as to yield clear and complete pictures." On carefully looking at these two prints, and on looking to the facsimiles given in other writings as referred to in this paper, and on looking to the photo-liths of the inscriptions on the Crosses, students of Pahlavi would have no doubt about the script being Pahlavi.

I will refer here in passing to a well-nigh similar case, wherein a script, which was Pahlavi as determined later on by Pahlavi scholars,[8] was not recognised as Pahlavi even by a scholar like Anquetil Du Perron. It is the case of the Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri caves in the neighbourhood of Borivli. It was in 1861, that the late Dr. Bhau Daji had first drawn attention to

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[7] The *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, edited by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, 1914, pp. 192–8.

[8] See *Jarthoshti Abhyas*, No. II, p. 98a; No. III, p. 146a, 146–63; and No. IV, pp. 209–17.

them, and it was in 1866 that Dr. (then Mr.) E. W. West submitted a Note, dated 5th May 1866, to this Society, drawing special attention of scholars to the Pahlavi inscription.[9] Anquetil Du Perron saw the inscription in 1761, but he did not recognize the script as Pahlavi. He speaks of their being in Mogous or Mougous characters. In one place, he speaks of the characters as Mongous. He says:[10] "Deux inscriptions, qui paroissent récentes, chacune de douze lignes perpendiculaires ; gravées peu profondement, & en caracteres Mougous, sur deux pilliers qui font partie des murs ; l'une haute d'un pied, l'autre large & haute de quinze pouces."[11]

In another place,[12] he speaks of the script as Mongous (caracteres Mongous). In the Index[13] again, he gives it as Mongous. We see from this, that even a scholar like Anquetil who knew Pahlavi though not much, could not recognize a Pahlavi inscription and took the characters to be Mogous or Mongous. "I think," as I have said elsewhere, "that the word Mougous is correct and is the same as the Parsee word Magav or Magous, the Greek Magi. It seems that he was properly informed by his guide or guides at the caves, that the characters were those of the Magous or Magis, but he did not properly understand the word, to take it for the characters of the Persian Magi or Mobads."[14] It seems that, just as in the case of the Malabar Coast Crosses, so in the case of the Kanheri and other caves in the neighbourhood, the Brahmins in charge of the places of worship had strange views. They seem to have told Anquetil that they were the works of Alexander the Great!

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[9] *Vide* my paper on Anquetil Du Perron read before this Society on 16th December 1915; and my *Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab*, p. 49.

[10] *Zend-Avesta*, vol. I, p. 404.

[11] Translation: "Two inscriptions, which appear recent, each of 12 perpendicular lines, inscribed less deep, and in character Mougous, over two pillars which form a part of the walls; one, one foot high and the other 15 inches broad and high."

[12] *Zend-Avesta*, vol. I, p. 395. [13] Ibid. vol. II, p. 732.

[14] *Vide* my paper on Anquetil Du Perron. *Vide* my book *Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab*, p. 50.

IV.

Before I give my decipherment, I beg to refer to the difficulty of reading such inscriptions. The decipherment of Pahlavi inscriptions is often difficult. The difficulty is due to various causes:

(*a*) Firstly, as many of the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet admit of more than one reading, there is, at times, a difference of opinion among scholars about the reading of some words even in the manuscripts. (*b*) This difficulty is added to in the case of inscriptions, wherein, besides the difficulty of engraving, there is that of doing so within a limited space. (*c*) Then, there is a further difficulty, when the inscription is to be done in an arched space. (*d*) Lastly, the artists, who engrave such inscriptions, are not literary men. They work mechanically from copies or tracings submitted to them and any error in the form of letters adds to the difficulty of deciphering them.

The difficulty about the decipherment of a Pahlavi inscription like that under notice is well illustrated by the attempts of scholars in reading the Pahlavi inscription on the above-mentioned Christian Cross in the Church of Mount St. Thomas at Madras, the like of which is also found on two Crosses at Koṭṭayam. Scholars differ, not only here and there, but in most of their readings. Dr. West has given two readings, the second being an emendation of the first. Even in his first reading, he has given an alternative reading of the short sentence. Dastur Darabji P. Sanjana has given four alternative readings and translations. These facts show how difficult it is to decipher a Pahlavi inscription on a Christian Cross of the kind which is under examination in this paper. What Dr. West has very properly said of the Mount St. Thomas Cross is true of this also, that "there is little chance of any two Pahlavi scholars agreeing about its interpretation." In another place, he says: "It is exceedingly easy to point out such defects, but it is not so easy to suggest any really satisfactory reading of the whole inscription, as only the three words *denman*, *madam* and *bokht* are indisputable."[15] Again, add to the difficulty inherent in the read-

[15] *Academy*, 24th January 1874, p. 97.

ing itself, that of obtaining really good estampages and photos. For example, take the case of the inscription of the previously discovered Crosses.

We have before us, among several others latterly given by other writers, three following impressions of the Mount St. Thomas Cross inscription: (1) The one given by Dr. Burnell; (2) the one given by Dr. West in the *Epigraphia Indica*; and (3) the one given by Dr. Harlez in the Report of the 1892 Oriental Congress of Paris.[16]

Strange to say, we find slight differences in all these three impressions or copies in the matter of the above-mentioned short sentence. By carefully observing this short sentence in all the three Crosses, one will notice that, though apparently identical, there is a difference here and there. Dr. West had to wait for some time before he gave his amended reading from more than one good copy of the photo-litho.

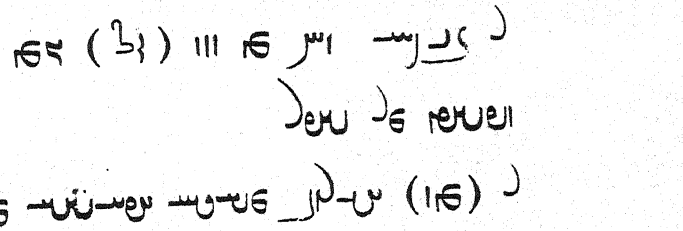
Rev. Hosten says: "If I were a Sassanian-Pahlavi scholar, I would not be satisfied with deciphering from photographs. I would insist on good estampages. . . only a rubbing, therefore, could bring out the exact details of the lettering with every jot and tittle."[17] With that view, I had asked for an estampage of this newly discovered Cross, and I thank Mr. Ayyar for kindly sending it to me. I am not sure whether it is a good estampage. But even with this estampage and the second good photo-print kindly sent to me by Mr. Ayyar, the task of decipherment has not been easy. In reply to Mr. Ayyar's inquiries, I submitted my reading and translation with my letter of 15th April 1924. I repeat here what I wrote to him: "One cannot claim any finality in such reading. When you see, that in the case of the previous inscription, the readings of five scholars—two of whom have submitted a number of alternate readings and translations—have differed, you must expect differences between my attempt and that of others who may follow."

With these few preliminary observations suggested by the decipherment of the inscription on the known Crosses, I beg to submit my reading and translation of the Pahlavi inscription on the Kaḍamaṭṭam Cross.

16 As reproduced by Dastur Darabji in his article in the Madressa Jubilee Volume.

17 *Indian Athœneum*, August 1923, p. 71.

TEXT.[18]



TRANSLITERATION.

(1) Li zibah vai min Ninav val denman
(2) Napisht Mar Shapur
(3) Li (mun) ahrob Mashiah avakhshāhi min khār bokht.

TRANSLATION.

(1) I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh, (have come) to this (country).

(2) Written (by) Mar Shapur.

(3) Holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed me from thorn (*i. e.* affliction).

I will now submit a few notes to explain my reading of certain words. I will at first speak of the first line on the right of the arch which is to be read from above to down below. Dr. West says of the similarly situated short line of the previous Crosses that "the shorter[19] line is much more uncertain, and there is little chance of any two Pahlavi scholars agreeing about its interpretation."[20] I think, this may turn out to be true of this line also.

(*a*) I have read what Dr. West has called a dash in the previous Cross as the word *li*, *i.e.* 'I.' In connection with this word, or dash, as he calls it, as seen in the previous inscriptions, Dr. West says: "The Inscription is really divided into two unequal portions by a small cross and dash. This dash is developed at

[18] The Inscription consists of three parts separated by a + cross-like mark. I have begun my reading from right hand side, reading the first line down from above. In the second two lines I have gone up from the right and have come down below to the left.

[19] The previous inscriptions have only two lines, one long and another short.

[20] *Academy*, 24th June 1874, p. 97.

Koṭṭayam into a shape like an hour-glass, or the cipher 8, laid upon its side; but this can hardly be read as any combination of Pahlavi letters, and is probably ornamental."[21] I think, it is not an ornamental dash, but is the word *li*, *i.e.* 'I.' Our present inscription has, instead of two, three sentences separated by a cross. There is a similar sign (or dash as said by Dr. West) between the second and the third line, though not exactly the same. In the commencement of the third sentence, it is more like that on the Koṭṭayam Cross, *i.e.* of " a shape like an hour-glass."

(*b*) I read the second word as *zībah*, Pers. زیبا 'beautiful.' One may object, and properly object,' that the first letter of the word is not ذ (*z*) as it ought to be written in the beginning of the word. But, I think that it is perhaps the difficulty of engraving, in a limited space, the long shape of *z* as it should be written in the beginning of a word, that may have led the engraver to use the form of the letter as it occurs in the middle of a word. But the letter may be read as *d*, if not *z*, without much difficulty and objection. In that case, it may be read as *dībah* دیبا, *i.e.* 'gold-tissued,' hence 'beautiful.' However, I admit, that I am not strong, nay, I am rather doubtful, in the reading of this word; but, I think, it is an adjectival word, qualifying, and in praise of, the next word.

(*c*) I read the next word as *vai* (Av. 𐬬𐬀𐬌, Skt. *vi*, Lat. *avi* 'bird') and I take it that the word refers to the bird, 'dove,' in the design of the Cross. We see the bird very clearly in the design of the Mount Cross.[22] Dr. Burnell thus quotes Lucena ("a safe authority on the Portuguese translations in India of that time") as speaking about the Mount St. Thomas Cross which was discovered " in digging for the foundations of a hermitage amid the ruins which marked the martyrdom of the apostle St. Thomas. On one face of this slab was a Cross in relief, with a bird like a dove over it

[21] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 4, p. 175.

[22] See *Indian Antiquary*, November 1874, p. 308 for the design. Also for the design, see the *Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume*, p. 196, and the estampage of the recently discovered Cross. And finally the Book of Ser Marco Polo, translated by Yule, third edition revised by Cordier 1903) vol. 2, p. 353.

with its wings expanded as the Holy Ghost is usually represented when descending on our Lord at his baptism or our Lady at her annunciation."[23]

(*d*) Ninav 𐭭𐭭𐭩. One may object to the word being Ninav, *i.e.* Nineveh. Some horizontal slips under 𐭩 give the letter the look of *b* 𐭡. But the form of the word as seen in the previous Cross helps the reading. The form, as given by Harlez and reproduced by Dastur Darabji,is clear as 𐭭𐭭𐭩.[24] Dastur Darabji has printed it as 𐭭𐭭 though he has read it as *van*. With reference to this name, Ninav, I would refer my readers to the account of Dr. Burnell in his paper, first published in the *Academy* of 1874 (vol. III), referred to above. It appears from that account that the early Christians who came to India were those from Babylon, and the adjoining countries. So, the mention of Ninav (Nineveh) refers to that part Persia.

I may say here that one may possibly object to my reading the word as Ninav in the recently discovered Cross. But the word is clear in the similar part of the inscription in the previously discovered Crosses. The flourish of the hand by the artist on the Cross under examination has not made the word clear in the present case. The word is written as 𐭭𐭭𐭩 (something like 𐭭𐭭𐭩, *i.e.*, hundred and eleven in Arabic figures) and it occurs as Ninav for Nineveh in the Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihā-i Airan[25].

(*e*) Now we come to the middle line, which is the shortest. There, I read the first word as *napisht*, *i.e.*, 'written' and the next word as *Mar Shapur*. This part of the inscription is mutilated. But I think that the name is that of the 'writer,' *i.e.*, the person who got the stone inscribed with the Cross and the inscription. It is, as it were, his votive offering, and so, as may be naturally expected, he gets his name put down in the inscription. Mar Shapur referred to may be the Mar Shapur mentioned by Burnell as one of the early Christian emigrants.

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23 *Indian Antiquary*, November 1874, p. 313.

24 See *Sir Jamshedji Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, p. 196.

25 *Vide* my Pahlavi Translation, part I, Aiyādgār-i Zarirān, Shatroihā-i Airān va Afdya va Sahigih-i Seistān, p. 115.

(*f*) Coming to the third line, I have referred above to the reading of this first word. The second word, I read as *ahrob* (*ahlob*), *i.e.*, 'pious, holy.'

(*g*) Then the next two words *Mashiah avakhshāhi* are well nigh the same as in the previously discovered inscription of Mount St. Thomas.

(*h*) Then the last two words also seem to be the same as those of the previous inscription and I think they may be read as Dr. West had read them.

On receiving my reading and translation, Mr. Ayyar wrote in his letter of 22nd April:

> "The reference to the 'bird' in the Kaḍamaṭṭam Cross as noted by you is quite in keeping with the pictured detail and is important, inasmuch as it helps to settle the doubtful nature of the emblem figured on the older Koṭṭayam Cross which it resembles and which latter had led Fr. H. Hosten of Darjeeling into some learned speculations in the *Indian Athenæum* for August 1923. The mention of Mar Shapur in the record is valuable in more aspects than one; and as in all likelihood, he may be identical with Maruvān Sāpir Īśo of the Koṭṭayam copper-plate charter of the time of the Cera king Sthāṇu-ravi (*ca.* A. D. 880-900), this cross may be taken to furnish an important *dated* landmark more reliable than the mere approximations of palaeography, however carefully balanced they may have been. (See also Travancore Archæological Series No. II, pp. 60 *et seq.*)"[26]

I am glad to learn from what is said above by Mr. Ayyar from archæological and historical points of view, that my reading of this new Cross has interested him and has been found important and "valuable in more aspects than one."

V.

Who were the Malabar Coast Christians?—Now the question is: Who were the Christians who put up Crosses with Pahlavi inscriptions in the Churches? It is rather difficult to say positively, who they were. There are various traditions about the first advent of the Christians to the shores of India.

There is the tradition, noted by Marco Polo, who has, in his book of travels, said that Malabar was the place where St. Thomas,

[26] Mr. Ayyar's reference is to the article, entitled "Three Inscriptions of Sthanu Ravi," in vol. 2, part 1, pp. 60-86 of the said series.

one of the twelve apostles of Christ, lies buried.[27] There is a difference of opinion as to whether the St. Thomas, who is associated with the early Christians of India, was the apostle himself or a later saint. Some even connected at one time the Pahlavi Cross in the Church of St. Thomé with the Apostle St. Thomas. We read on this point:

> "In repairing a hermitage which here existed, in 1547, the workmen came upon a stone slab with a Cross and inscription carved upon it. The story speedily developed itself that this was the Cross which had been embraced by the dying Apostle, and its miraculous virtues soon obtained great fame. It was eventually set up over an altar in the church of Madonna, which was afterwards erected on the Great Mount, and there it still exists. A Brahman imposter professed to give an interpretation of the inscription as relating to the death of St. Thomas, etc., and this was long accepted."[28]

Anquetil Du Perron on the Malabar Coast Christians.—Anquetil Du Perron, in his *Zend-Avesta*, in his account of his visit to Cochin on 31st December 1757, speaks at some length on the subject of the Christians.[29] I quote here from my paper on Anquetil Du Perron read before this Society:[30]

> "Anquetil's description of Cochin shows that the city and the surrounding district formed a great centre of trade at that time. Some of the Europeans who lived there were literary persons. There were also many learned Christian priests. There were a number of Christian Churches built by the several European communities that traded with India. Anquetil visited Veraple, which was the seat of the Apostolic Vicar of the Malabar Coast. His description of the Christians of this district will be found somewhat interesting to the students of the history of the spread of Christianity here. Even M. Florent, a head priest of the district, could not tell him how old was the Christian population there. At the time of Anquetil's visit, there were about 200,000 Christians, of whom 50,000 were Roman Catholics, 100,000 Syrian Malabari Catholics, 50,000 other Syrian Christians (Syro-Malabares Schismatiques). The Latin or Roman Catholics again were divided into three classes: 1. Christians of St. Thomas. 2. The Topas, born of Portuguese fathers and Indian mothers, either by legal marriage or concubinage, who

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[27] *Vide* the third edition of the translation of Yule, revised by Cordier (1903), p. 353.

[28] Third ed. of Marco Polo by Cordier. Notes, p. 358.

[29] Tome I, partie 1.

[30] "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris. India as seen by him", pp. 19-20.

dressed as Europeans. Most of the domestic servants of the Dutch, the English and French in India belonged to this class. 3. The Mounduk-arens who were recently converted Malabari Christians and who dressed as natives of the land, and the Kouloukarens who were fishers and sailors.

The Time of the Inscription.—There remains the question as to the time when these Crosses were put up and this question is connected with the question as to who those Christians were who put them up. The very fact of the Crosses having Pahlavi inscriptions of the types we see, shows that, even if there had been some early settlements of Christians on the Malabar Coast at the time of the advent of St. Thomas the Apostle, these Crosses are not their offerings. They belong to some later times. Dr. West says on this subject:

> "Regarding the date of the Pahlavi Inscriptions nothing very definite can be ascertained from the forms of the letters . . . All the peculiarities can be found in the Kaṇheri Pahlavi inscriptions of 10th October and 24th November 1009, and 30th October 1021; and some of them in the Pahlavi signatures of witnesses on a copper-plate grant to the Syrian Church in Southern India which has been attributed to the ninth century."[31]

Dr. Burnell wrote:

> "The characters and language are nearly those of the books, but are not by any means of the earliest period. If one may judge by the legends on coins, the dates of which are known, the earliest of these inscriptions may belong to the 7th or 8th century. The earliest appears to be the ones at the Mount and in the south wall of the Koṭṭa-yam old church, the latest that behind a side altar in the same church and on which is also a sentence in Syriac in the ordinary Estrangelo character, to judge by facsimiles of MSS. of a period not older than the 10th century. At all events, these Crosses are long subsequent to the time of the Apostle St. Thomas." [32]

I agree with these scholars, and think, that the inscriptions belong to times much posterior to Apostle St. Thomas. I think there is a very great likelihood of their belonging to the 7th and 8th century after Christ. In this connection, I wish to draw special attention of the students of this question to what Anquetil Du Perron has said about a tradition that he had heard. I will quote him at some length :

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[31] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 4, p. 176. [32] Reprint in the *Indian Antiquary*.

" Quelle est donc l'origine du Christianisme dans l'Inde ? Je crois que cette question ne peut etre décidée par les Monuments qui existent actuellement dans cette Contrée. Ce qu'on dit d'un Mage, qui avoit le titre de *Mannuca vasser* (mot qu'on prétend singfier *Manicheen*), et qui passa dans l'Inde ou il répandit sa doctrine, ne m'a été confirmé par aucun Chrétien de Saint Thomas, Catholique, ni Schismatique. Mais, sans m'arreter aux autorités vraies ou supposées, je dis que ceux qui connoissent l'Orient ne trouveront rien d'impossible, ni meme d'extraordinaire dans l'Apostolat de Saint Thomas aux Indes Orientales. Les Caravanes de Syrie pour Bassora, marchoient alors comme à présent. Les Arabes alloient aux Indes tous les ans et débarquoient aux environs des lieux nommés maintenant Calicut & Mazulipatam. J'ajoute que, selon une opinion reçue dans le Pays, plusieurs Chrétiens de Chaldée, fuyant, dans le septieme siecle, la persécution des Mahométans s'embarquérent à Bassora, & vinrent s'établir parmi les Chrétiens de Saint Thomas" [33].

This statement of Anquetil seems to present the possibility of two views. These Crosses may be the work of some Persian Christians who had taken to Manichaeism and who, therefore, in order to avoid the persecution in their own country, had fled from there under the leadership of a Zoroastrian Magi, who also had turned to be a follower of Mani and settled on the shores of India.

Dr. Burnell has in his above-mentioned paper, referred to these Manichaeans and has even pointed to a place in Malabar as deriving its name from Mani.

But I think that there is reason to believe that these Crosses were not put up by Manichaean Christians, or Christian Manichaeans, because the history of the Manichaeans and of the Albigenses, who were an offshoot of the Manichaeans, shows that the Manichaeans were persecuted by the orthodox Christians on the ground that they were not true followers of Christ. Manichaeism was a mixture of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and even of Buddhism. One may say that in spite of their not being true orthodox Christians, they believed in Christ. But what we know of the tenets of Manichaeism does not permit us to believe that they had that faith in the personality of Christ as a redeemer of afflictions, as seems to have been evinced by the offerers of the Crosses in question, in the Pahlavi inscriptions.

[33] *Zend-Avesta*, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, tome premier, premiere partie, p. 179.

So, I think that the Christians who offered the Crosses were the Christians referred to by Anquetil in the last part of the above extract. They were the Christians who had to leave Persia, like the Zoroastrians, to escape from the persecutions of the Arab invaders of Persia. We must bear in mind that here, it is not only the question of Anquetil's own view. He speaks of what he had heard in Malabar itself. I therefore think that the Crosses may be the offerings of some of the Christians who had come to the shores of India in the middle or latter part of the seventh century and in the eighth century, owing to the persecution of the Arabs, and, in referring to the afflictions of Christ, they allude to their own afflictions of being compelled to leave their country for their faith.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this first attempt at reading and translation sent to Mr. Ayyar and after I announced my paper, I have seen in the Indian *Academy* of June 1924 (p. 122) what is called a photo-lith with "scale one-third," given by Mr. T. K. Joseph with a short Note, wherein he gives in a foot-note my foregoing translation as sent by me to the Superintendent of Archæology of Travancore. If that be a litho from a clearer photo, I should like to modify my reading a little in the third line, though that will not make any important change in the meaning. My reading of the third line from this larger photo is as follows:

[Am...(?) Meshīhā avakhshāhi min bim bokht.]

TRANSLATION.

"I whom...(?) Messiah, the forgiver, freed from danger (or terror)."

The modification consists of the following:

(*a*) The reading of the foot word as *am* in place of *li*. This makes no change in the meaning.

(*b*) I get doubtful about the word preceding Messiah which I first read as *ahlob*, i.e., 'holy.'

(*c*) I read the last but one word as *bim* instead of *khar*; but this modification in the reading of the word makes no important change in the sense.

September, 1924.

THE UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE GUJARAT SALṬANAT

By Prof. S. H. Hodivala

Bahauddin College, Junagadh

The coins of the independent Sultans of Gujarat are not inferior in historical interest, artistic merit or variety of design to the mintages of any other Provincial dynasty in the Indo-Musalman series. Nor are they of such extreme rarity as to make the possibility of acquisition remote for all who are not millionaires. They are not infrequently found in many parts of Gujarat, Kathiawar and several other localities in this Presidency. Unlike the mintages of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal which are practically confined to silver, or those of the Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpur, of whom no silver issues are known, they are represented in all the four metals. The distinction of the various denominations and the fractional subdivision of the principal units of the currency is also as clearly marked, if not even more meticulous and exhaustive than in the *etampages* of the Pathan Emperors or in any other type or variety of the Indo-Muhammadan Coinage.

In the circumstances, it is not a little disappointing to find that the numismatic records of the Ṭānk dynasty have not received the attention to which they would seem to be justly entitled. The bibliography of the subject is of exceedingly limited extent and it is easy to recapitulate all the books and papers of any note on the subject. The earliest notice of any utility or value is to be found in Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (1871). About three pages are devoted to the succinct description, or rather bare enumeration, of 48 coins, only 2 of which are figured. Fourteen years afterwards (1885), Mr. Stanley Lane Poole gave an account of 41 and illustrated 10 belonging to the British Museum (*Catalogue of Indian Coins, Muhammadan States*, Vol. II, pp. 131-143). The total number of those described and drawn by Mr. E. E. Oliver in an article contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. LVIII, 1889, pp. 1-12) was less than 30, and C. J. Rodgers

knew of the existence of only 38, of which 22 were registered in his *Catalogue of the Indian Museum* (1894, pp. 130-134) and 16 in the List of those purchased by him for the Government of the Punjab (1894, pp. 132-4). All this while, an enthusiastic and untiring coin-hunter had been silently working within 300 miles of Bombay. He had brought together a fine collection of no less than 423 specimens and it is to him that we are indebted for the first really adequate treatment of the subject. The late Dr. G. P. Taylor of Ahmedabad contributed to this *Journal* in 1903, a paper in which 80 Coins were described with the most punctilious regard for accuracy.

Twenty years have elapsed since he wrote, but little or nothing has been done towards extending our knowledge of the class. The only exceptions known to me are the chapter assigned to Gujarat in the second volume of the new Indian Museum Catalogue by Mr. Nelson Wright (1908) who has listed 119 Coins, and the article on the billon issues of Maḥmūd Begaḍā by Mr. A. Master in the XVIIth Numismatic Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1912, pp. 131-2). I have, in the course of the last twenty-two years, picked up in the Junagadh bazars more than 600 of these mintages. My collection now comprises about 150 of the silver issues, about 25 of those in billon, and more than 400 examples of the utterances in copper. I have, it is true, nothing to show in gold, but Dr. Taylor suffered from the same disability. Otherwise, my collection is not only a representative one, but contains numerous varieties or subvarieties which have never been published and several which, so far as my knowledge extends, exist nowhere else and are probably unique.

Some of these novelties, I crave permission to exhibit to-day and trust that the description of these addenda may prove to be a not altogether unworthy supplement to Dr. Taylor's excellent monograph.

For this purpose, I have selected only such pieces as have not been noticed before and which possess some characteristic peculiarity or point in regard to which they differ from their congeners.

In order to bring out clearly this differential characteristic, I have divided them into five classes, according as the arresting

feature is (1) the weight, (2) the legend or the manner in which it is inscribed, (3) the mint-name or mint-marks, (4) the style of script, *i.e.*, the shaping and formation of the letters or (5) the fact of the copper pieces having been struck from silver dies.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS. (I)

No. 1. (Unique. No coin of this Sultan has been hitherto known.)

AE MUẒAFFAR I.

Obv. مظفر شاه السلطان

Rev. شمس الدنیا والدین ۸۱۳

Wt. 67 grs.

No. 2. (Special feature : Weight.)

AE MUḤAMMAD II.

Obv. Same as T. 9, but no date. Wt. 31 grs.

Rev. Same as T. 9. Wt. 33 grs.

Dr. Taylor had a solitary specimen but did not describe or figure it.

No. 3. (Weight.)

AE MUḤAMMAD II.

(Two specimens.)

Obv. Same as T. 8*a*.

Rev. Same as T. 8*b*. Wt. 196 grs.

No. 4. (Weight.)

AE AḤMAD II.

Obv. Same as T. 11.

Rev. Same as T. 11. Wt. 158 grs.

No. 5. (Weight.)

AE AḤMAD II.

Obv. Same as T. 11. Wt. 188 grs.

Rev. Same as T. 11. Wt. 189 grs.

No. 6. (Weight.)
AE MAḤMŪD I.
Obv. محمود شاه سلطان
Rev. ناصرالدنیا والدین
Wt. 17·5 grs.
Wt. 17·0 grs.
Wt. 15·4 grs.

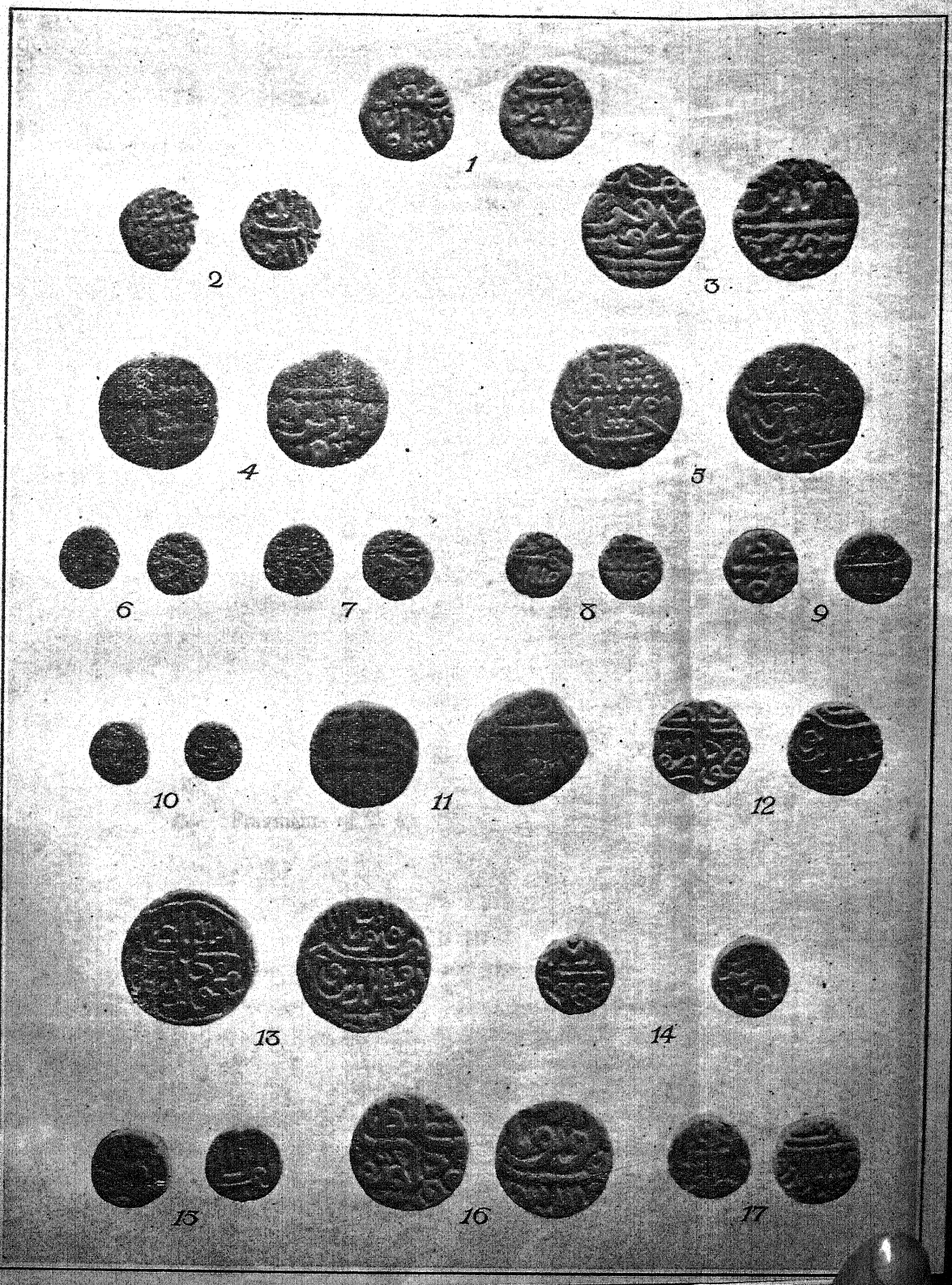
No. 7. (Weight.)
AE MAḤMŪD. I.
Obv. محمود شاه السلطان
Rev. ناصرالدنیا والدین
Wt. 35 grs.
Wt. 33·5 grs.

No. 8. (Weight.)
AE MUẒAFFAR II OR III.
Obv. مظفرشاه
Rev. (Fragmentary.) المویدبتائید
Wt. 16 grs.

No. 9. (Weight.)
AE MUẒAFFAR II.
Obv. ـ ۹۱ مظفرشاه السلطان
Rev. Same as T. 49. Wt. 36 grs.

No. 10. (Weight.)
AR BAHĀDUR SHĀH.
Obv. بهادرشاه
Rev. السلطان ۹۴۳
Wt. 14 grs.
Wt. 16·5 grs.

No. 11. (Weight.)
AE BAHĀDUR SHĀH.
Obv. Same as T. 53.
Rev. Same as T. 53, but date ۹۴۲ Wt. 184 grs.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No. 12. (Weight.)
AR MAḤMŪD III.
Obv. Same as T. 63, but date ٩ع٨
Rev. Same as T. 63. Wt. 58 grs.

This is the half-piece of the new or heavier Muẓaffarī of about 117 grains, which was struck by this Sultan.

No. 13. (Weight.)
AR MAḤMŪD III.
Obv. Same as T. 63, but date ٩٩٠
Rev. Same as T. 63. Wt. 133 grs.

No. 14. (Weight.)
AE MAḤMŪD. III.
Obv. السطان [محمود شاه] ٩ع٣
Rev. (Fragmentary.) الوا ثق * * * المنان
Wt. 33 grs.
Wt. 31 grs.

No. 15. (Weight.)
AE MAḤMŪD III.
Obv. محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
Rev. Fragments of T. 63. Wt. 36 grs.
Wt. 37 grs.

No. 16. (Weight.)
AE MAḤMŪD III.
Obv. Same as T. 63, but date ٩٩٠ above لطيف
Rev. Same as T. 63. Wt. 108 grs.

No. 17. (Weight.)
AR MUẒAFFAR III.
Obv. Same as T. 76, but date ٩٧٢ or ٩٧٧
Rev. Same as T. 76. Wt. 34·5 grs.

No. 18. (Weight.)
AE MUẒAFFAR III.
Obv. مظفر شاه ۹۷۸
Rev. Fragments of T. 72. Wt. 36 grs.

No. 19. (Weight.)
AR MUẒAFFAR III.
Obv. In circle. مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه
Margin. Illegible.
Rev. Fragments of T. 72 Wt. 143 grs.

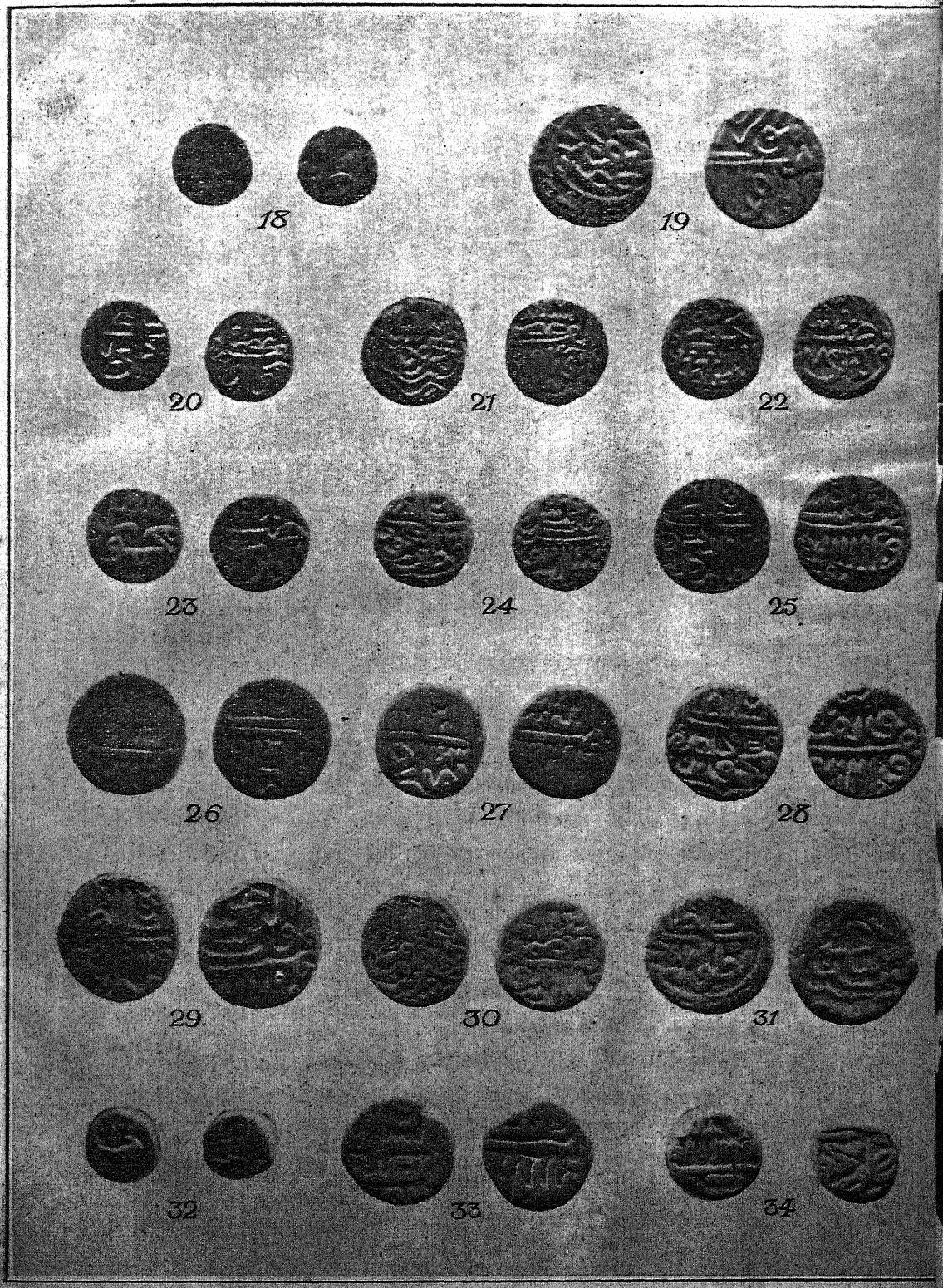
No. 20. (Special feature : Legend.)
AR MAḤMŪD I.
Obv. Same as T. 40.
Rev. Same as T. 40. Wt. 41 grs.

This is a half-Maḥmūdī on which the name of the Sultan's father is inscribed, as on the silver Tankā, along with his own. The former rarely occurs on the silver issues. The coin also shows that the peculiar manner of bisecting the upper part of the obverse field by drawing up the *alif* of شاه between the *lām* and the *toy* of سلطان was introduced by Maḥmūd I.

No. 21. (Legend.)
AR MAḤMŪD I.
Obv. In *scalloped* circle محمود شاه السلطان
Rev. Same as T. 34. Wt. 80 grs.

No. 22. (Legend.)
AE MAḤMŪD I.
Obv. محمود شاه السلطان [محمود *below* سلطان]
Rev. ناصر الدنیا والدین ۸۸۵
Wt. 73 grs.

No. 23. (Legend.)
AE. MAḤMŪD I.
Obv. محمود شاه السلطان ۸۶۴ [محمود above سلطان]
Rev. ناصر الدنیا والدین
Wt. 72 grs.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Both these coins (Nos. 22-3) are modelled on the issues of his father, Muḥammad II, *cf.* T. 9. and 10 *a*: in the former, سلطان is inscribed *above* محمد: in 10*a*, it is *below* the name. The same characteristic difference arrests attention in these two pieces.

No. 24. (Legend.)

AR MUẒAFFAR II.

Obv. In *scalloped* circle. Same as T. 46. ٩٢٩

Rev. Same as T. 44. Wt. 54 grs.

A half Muẓaffarī. Dr. Taylor had no specimen, though one is figured in the *I. M.C.* (No. 55), but it is of a very different type. The date figures seem to be *reversed*.

No. 25. (Legend.)

AR BAHĀDUR SHĀH.

Obv. بهادر شاه مظفر شاه السلطان ٩٤٣

Rev. المويد بتائيد * * * قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالفضل

Trident above المويد

Wt. 111 grs.

No such silver coin of Bahādur has been figured. The lettering is modelled on the Muẓaffarī illustrated in T. Pl. IV, No. 47. But what is more worthy of note is the pious formula المويد بتائيد الرحمن which is conspicuous by its absence from the other mintages of this Sultan.

No. 26. (Legend.)

AE BAHĀDUR SHĀH.

Obv. المويد بتائيد * * قطب

Rev. السلطان A quatrefoil. Wt. 155 grs.

The legend is of an uncommon type. The pious phrase المويد بتائيد etc. is also noticeable. The coin is not of copper but of bronze or brass.

No. 27. (Special feature: Date.)

AE BAHĀDUR SHĀH.

Obv. بهادر شاه السلطان ۹۴۳

Rev. قطب الدنیا والدین ابوالفضل ۹۴۳

Wt. 124 grs.

The date is inscribed on both reverse and obverse and there is a star (Wright, *I.M.C.* II. M. M. 18) above the بو. Mintmarks are rarely found on Gujarāt coins.

No. 28. (Date.)

AR MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. Same as T. 63, but date ۹ع۰ above محمود

Rev. Same as T. 63. Wt. 112 grs.

On the silver coins of this Sultan, which have been published, the date is either above or below لطیف. Here it is inscribed above محمود as in the gold coin (*B. M. C.* 428 and Thomas, p. 352). I have three other specimens, *viz.* of 951, 952 and 959 A. H.

No. 29. (Date.)

AR MUẒAFFAR III.

Obv. مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۹

Rev. الموید بتائید الرحمن

Wt. 116·5 grs.

The date is probably ۹۹۹ with the figures reversed. The weight also is in favour of this supposition as Muẓaffar II's issues of this type do not rise above 111 grs.

No. 30. (Date.)

AE MUẒAFFAR III.

Obv. مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه سلطان عهد (?) ع۹۷

Rev. غیاث الدنیا والدین المعتصم باللہ الرحمن ابو

Wt. 171 grs.

This is a very remarkable coin. In the first place, the reverse displays the *Alqāb* of his predecessor Aḥmad III. The lettering is unlike that of any other coin I have seen, except the unique

genealogical silver piece of Bahādur Shāh (T. 51). The date is 975—one of the years which was unrepresented in Dr. Taylor's collection. Lastly, there is on the reverse, above the date, what looks very much like the word عهد which is a peculiar feature of the mintages of Aḥmad III. It reminds one of and may have been borrowed from the في عهد امير الحامي formula of the contemporary Sūrī mintages.

No. 31. (Date.)
AE MUẒAFFAR III.
Obv. In circle مظفر شاه السلطان ٨٧٩
Margin illegible.
Rev. المويد بتائيد شمس
Wt. 163 grs.

The date figures are reversed. The lettering also is peculiar.

No. 32. (Special feature: Script.)
AE AḤMAD I.
Obv. احمد شاه
Rev. ناصر الدنيا والدين
Wt. 34 grs.

No. 33. (Script.)
AE MUẒAFFAR II.
Obv. مظفر شاه السلطان ٩٢٠
Rev. شمس الدنيا والدين
Wt. 215 grs.

The triangular shape of the head of the *mīm* is peculiar to this variety, of which I have three specimens.

No. 34. (Script.)
AE MUẒAFFAR II.
Obv. مظفر [شاه] بن محمود [شاه]
Rev. Fragments of T. 45. Wt. 84 grs.

The lettering on the obverse and the shape of the ظ is like that of the gold coin figured in *I. M. C.* Pl. IX, No. 46. Copper coins of this weight were rarely struck by this Sultan. Dr. Taylor had only one.

No. 35. (Script.)

AE BAHĀDUR SHĀH.

Obv. بهادر شاه بن مظفر [شاه] ?

Rev. Same as T. 52 ۹۳۸

Wt. 139 grs.

The name of the Sultan is inscribed *above* that of his father.

No. 36. (Script.)

AE MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. محمود * * * لطیف * * سلطان ۹ع۹

Rev. الواثق [باللہ]

Wt. 143 grs.

No. 37. (Script.)

AE MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. محمود شاه بن لطیف شاه سلطان ۹ع۲

Rev. ناصر الدنیا والدین

Wt. 213·5 grs.

Wt. 221 grs.

The letters are ill-shaped and crudely formed. The heavier coin is dated ۹ع۴

No. 38. (Script.)

AE MUẒAFFAR III.

Obv. Same as T. 72, but year ۹۷ _

Rev. Same as T. 72. Wt. 68 grs.

A smaller coin of the same barbarous type as the preceding.

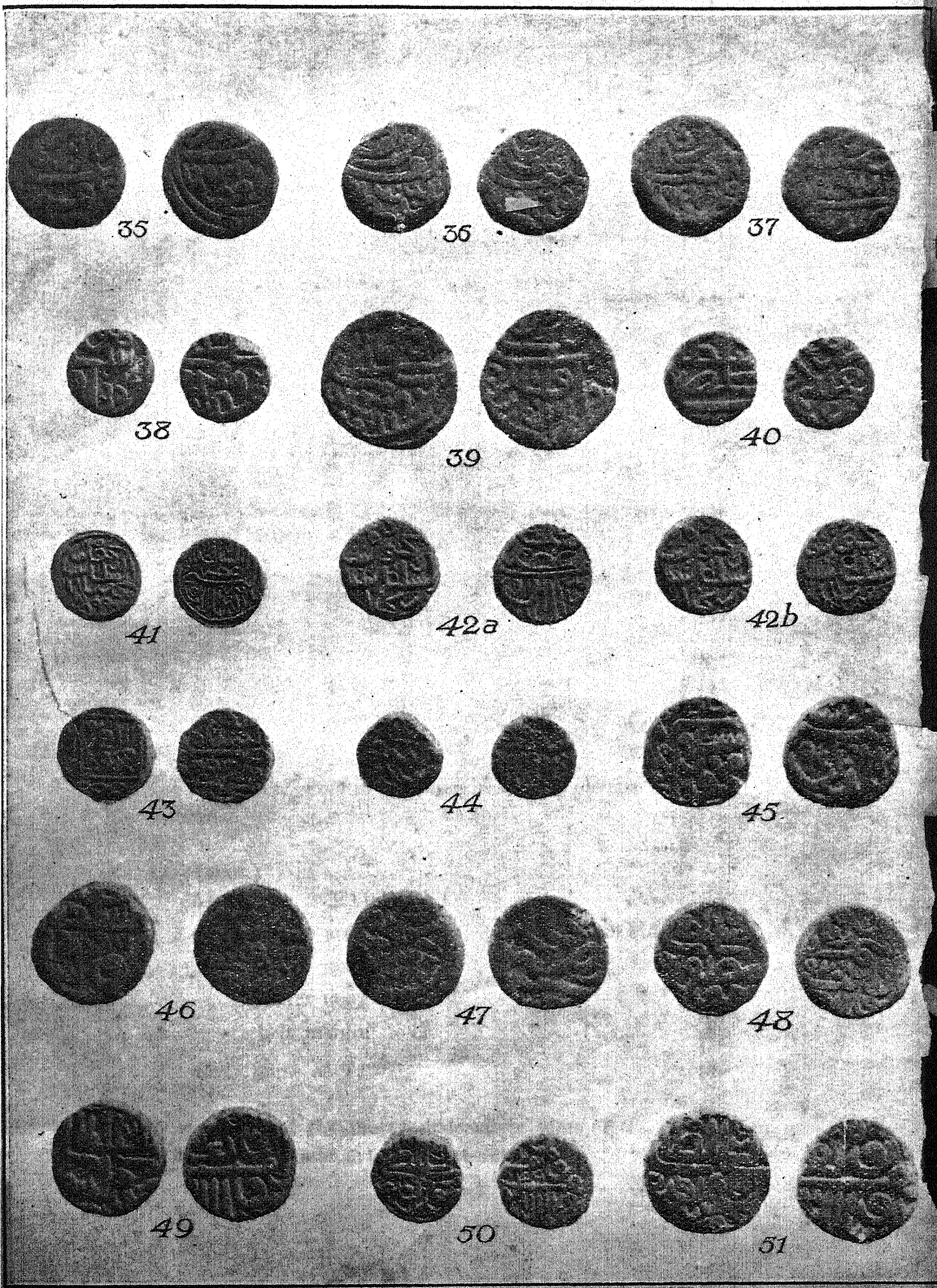
No. 39. (Script.)

AE MUẒAFFAR III.

Obv. Same as T. 72, but year ۹۷۷

Rev. Same as T. 72. Wt. 172 grs.

The lettering is of a very unusual type.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No. 40. (Script.)

AE MUẒAFFAR II or III.

Obv. مظفر شاه سلطان

Rev. المويد * * * شمس

Wt. 70 grs.

The characters are square-shaped and of a bold but inelegant type.

No. 41. (Special feature : Mint-name.)

AR MAḤMŪD I.

Obv. محمود شاه السلطان شهر مكرم محمد اباد ٨٩٩

Rev. Same as T. 26. Wt. 44 grs.

A beautifully inscribed Half-Maḥmūdī with the mint-name on the *obverse* field.

Nos. 42*a* and 42*b*. (Mint.)

AR MAḤMŪD I.

Obv. محمود شاه السلطان شهر مكرم محمد اباد

Rev. Same as T. 26 ٨٧ [٩]

Wt. 87 grs.

Wt. 86 grs.

The mint-name is not in the margin but the obverse field on this Maḥmūdī.

No. 43. (Mint.)

AR MAḤMŪD I.

Obv. Square area. محمود شاه السلطان

Upper margin Illegible.

Lower margin مصط

Left margin عظم

Rev. Same as T. 26. ٨٩٤

Wt. 64 grs.

A duplicate of the pretty little silver piece (T. Pl. III, 29), which leaves little doubt as to the mint-name.

No. 44. (Mint.)

AE MAḤMŪD I.

Obv. In circle محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه سلطان

Margin. شهر احمد اباد

Rev. Same as T. 64, but no date.

Wt. 65 grs.

Another specimen Wt. 70 grs.

No. 45. (Mint.)

AE MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. In square. محمود شاه

Upper margin معظم

Lower margin

Left margin شهر or حمد

Rev. Same as T. 59, but date ٩٤٤

Wt. 143 grs.

Dr. Taylor had two coins of this Sultan on the margin of which the word شهر could be read (Nos. 58 and 62). The معظم on the present specimen indicates that the coin was struck at Ahmedabad, which is frequently styled شهر معظم.

No. 46. (Mint-mark.)

AE MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. محمود شاه السلطان

Rev. الواثق بالله etc. ٩٧٤

Wt. 216·5 grs.

The reverse has a trefoil (*I.M.C.* II. M. M. No. 8) in the centre.

No. 47. (Mint.)

AE MUẒAFFAR III.

Obv. In circle شمس * * * مظفر ٩٧٧

Rev. ضرب چانپار [نير؟]

Wt. 215 grs.

No. 48. (Special feature : Struck from a silver die.)

AE MUẒAFFAR II.

Obv. Same as T., but محمود below مظفر

Rev. Same as T,. but date ٩٣٠

Wt. 178 grs.

This and the six coins which follow are all examples of copper pieces struck from a silver die—a feature of the Gujarat mintages which is rare in other types of Indo-Musalman Coinage.

No. 49. (Silver die.)

AE MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. Same as T. 63, but no date.

Rev. Same as T. 63.

Wt. 141 grs.

No. 50. (Silver die.)

AE MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. Same as T. 63, but no date.

Rev. Same as T. 63, but with date ٩٤٩ above the ت of الفتح.

Wt. 70 grs.

No. 51. (Silver die.)

AE MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. Same as T. 63, but date ٩٤٣ above محمود

Rev. Same as T. 63. Wt. 224 grs.

Dr. Taylor had no specimen of this date. The year 953 was one of those (about seven in all) unrepresented in his collection.

No. 52. (Silver die.)

AE MAḤMŪD III.

Obv. Same as T. 63.

Rev. Same as T. 64. Wt. 74 grs.

Another coin of 953 A. H. which was unexemplified in Dr. Taylor's fine collection.

No. 53. (Silver die.)
AE AḤMAD III.
Obv. Same as Taylor 68, qut date ٩٢ only (*without the hundreds* unit.)
Rev. Same as T. 68. Wt. 218·5 grs.

No. 54. (Silver die.)
AE. AḤMAD III.
Obv. Same as T. 68, with identical date 962.
Rev. Same as T. 68. Wt. 213 grs.

The intimate connection, or rather lineal descent, of the Korīs and Dokḍās of Kachh and Nawanagar, Junagad and Porbandar from the mintages of Muẓaffar III is matter of common knowledge. All the coins described and figured in the late Dr. Codrington's article on the subject (*Num. Chron.* 1895, pp. 59-88), show the name of only this last faineant of the house of Aḥmad Shāh and it has been therefore supposed that the Rāos of Kachh were first allowed to stamp money during the feeble rule of that Sultan. Indeed, a statement to that effect is explicitly made in the *Tārīkh-e-Soraṭh* in regard to the Jam or Chief of Jamnagar. "Jām Satrasāl ascended the masnad of his father in Samvat 1625, on the 14th of Māha Vad (1569 A. C.), and was allowed to coin money by Sulṭān Muẓaffar, whose name it bore; but he ordered it to be called Mahmūdī after his father" (*op. cit.* Tr. Rehatsek, p. 246). The writer then proceeds to give a derivation of the name *Korī* which is most probably apocryphal—a mere example of 'meaning-making' or folk-etymology. Every one of the Kachh coins of the Muẓaffar type which have been figured by Dr. Codrington shows one and the same date—978 A.H. (1569-70 A.C.), though sometimes in debased forms. And this has strengthened the supposition that the Rāos did not stamp any money before 978 A. H.

But this would seem to be open to doubt. I have a copper coin which is exactly like the silver Maḥmūdī of Muẓaffar III figured by Dr. Taylor (Pl. VI, No. 76). The only difference is that the date is 969 and that there is also the name of राउ श्री रायधणजी in Nāgarī characters. But this is not all. I possess copper coins

which show the name of Rāo Śrī Khengārjī, Rāo Śrī Bhojjī (1631-1645 A. C.), Rāo Śrī Tamācī (1655 A. C.) or Rāo Śrī Rāydhaṇjī (1666-1697 A. C.) in the lower margin in Devanāgarī, but that of *Maḥmūd bin Laṭīf* in the obverse field, and the titles or Alqāb of that ruler on the reverse. Now Tamācī and Rāydhaṇ ruled long after Maḥmūd III. Khengār I reigned from 1548 to 1585 A. C. and was a contemporary of the Sultan who came to the throne in 943 A. H. (1537 A. C.) and was assassinated in 961 A. H. (1553 A. C.). But there was another Rāo of the same name and the dates given for him are 1645-1654 A. C. (Codrington, *op. cit.* 64). The true attribution of this coin is therefore a difficult problem. There are good reasons for believing that it was with the assistance of Maḥmūd III that Khengārjī I was able to regain his inheritance in 1548 A.C. and drive out Jam Rāval and it is not unlikely that he was the first Rāo who was permitted to strike copper Tankcās on the Gujarat model and bearing the name of his patron. But Khengārjī II was the immediate predecessor of Tamācī and Rāydhaṇjī and a Dokḍā bearing the names of Muẓaffar and Rāydhaṇjī has been described and pictured by Dr. Taylor (No. 81). Whether the Rāydhaṇjī was the first (r. 1666-1697 A. C.) or second of that name (r. 1778-1813 A. C.) is again uncertain. Dr. Codrington would appear to be in favour of the latter view (*op. cit.* p. 71).

However that might be, the fact of the Dokḍās of four of the Rāos bearing the name of Maḥmūd-bin-Laṭīf would seem to show that the earliest issues of the rulers of that province were those in copper and that the permission was first given, not by Muẓaffar III, but by his putative father Maḥmūd III.

But the matter does not end here. On the copper coins of Rāydhaṇjī I or II, his name is associated not only with that of Maḥmūd III or Muẓaffar III but of Akbar. I have a Kachh Dokḍā weighing 153 grains—about half a dām—which has the Kalima on the obverse and the emperor's name جلال الدين and his own श्री रायधण in Nāgarī characters. Khengārjī I, who ruled from 1548 to 1585, is mentioned more than once in the *Akbarnāma* and his death also is incidentally mentioned (Beveridge's Tr. III, pp. 699, 711). His successor Bhārmaljī is also mentioned

in that work as well as in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. The fact of the Mughal dām having been imitated by Rāydhaṇjī more than sixty years after the death of Akbar is not unworthy of note and proof of its having attained universal vogue through the country.

Description of the Coins. (II)

Kachh Dokḍās.

No. 55.

Obv. محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه سلطان

Lower margin रा श्री षंगारजी

Rev. الواثق * * * * الدنيا والدين

Wt. 132 grs.

No. 56.

Obv. محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه

Lower margin श्री भोजजी

Rev. الواثق

Wt. 121 grs.

No. 57.

Obv. محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه سلطان

Lower margin श्री तमाची

Rev. الواثق * * * *

Wt. 65 grs.

Nos. 58*a*, 58*b*, 58*c*.

Obv. محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه سلطان

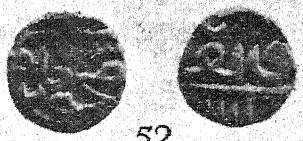
Lower margin श्री रायधणजी

Rev. الواثق * * * * الدين

Wt. 176 grs.

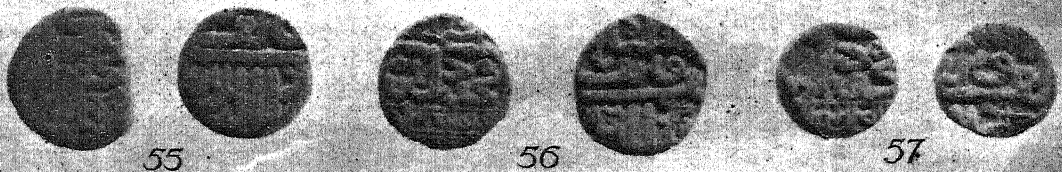
Wt. 178 grs.

Wt. 167 grs.

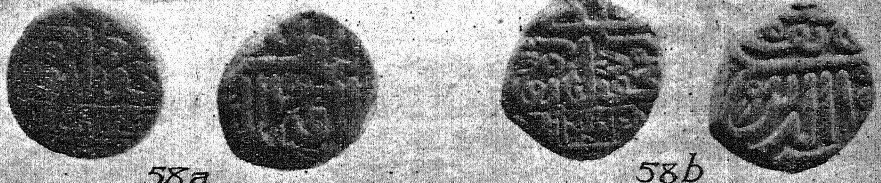


52

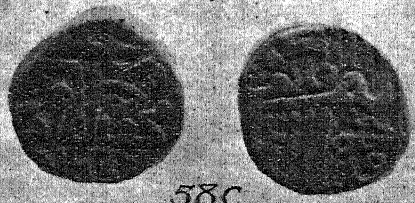
53 54



55 56 57



58a 58b



58c

59 60 61

No. 59.

Obv. محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه

Lower margin राय श्री दशलग

Rev. الواثق بتائيد ✻ ✻ الفتح etc.

Dagger. Wt. 190·5 grs.

No. 60.

Obv. In peaked square مظفر شاه السلطان ٩٦٩

Lower margin राजा श्री अत्री

Rev. المويد بتائيد الرحمن etc.

Wt. 148·5 grs.

No. 61.

Obv. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Rev. جلال الدين

Lower margin श्री राअध[णजी]

Wt. 152 grs.

It will be seen that the data for arriving at definite conclusions regarding the metrology of the coins of the Gujarat Sultans are by no means inadequate. There is no reason to complain of the paucity of examples or of the evidence derived from coin weights. Dr. Taylor was of opinion that there were no less than ten different denominations in silver and as many in copper. The addenda described above demonstrate the existence of *at least two subdivisions in silver which were not known to him and of six others in copper, of which he had no examples.*

But it is this very copiousness of the details which is the cause of embarrassment. The uncertain character of deductions arrived at from figures and the ease with which they can be made to fit in with the calculator's preconceived notions or theories are proverbial. The coin-weights tabulated by Dr. Taylor are not free from this defect and they are susceptible of explanation in either of two different ways. The foundation of his laborious calculations is a unit of 4 Ratis and a standard Tolā of 96. He postulates for the Rati a weight of 1·85 grains Troy, and for the Tolā that of

177·6 grains. He believes all the coins to have been struck on the 96-Rati standard and the maxima præposited in his Tables are all based on and can be easily made to conform to that scale.

Mr. Nelson Wright has advanced a very different theory. He is inclined to think that the silver coins of Maḥmūd I " clearly indicate a 100-Rati standard " of 1·8 grains to the Rati. He declares that the coins of Muẓaffar II weighing about 111 grains are not pieces of 60 Ratis (60×1·85=111) as in Dr. Taylor's view, but coins of which the intentional or issue weight was 64 Ratis (64× 1·8 grs.=115·2 grs.). He admits that the gold as well as silver coins of Maḥmūd III and Muẓaffar III point unmistakably to a Rati of 1·85 grains, but he regards this as a temporary divergence from the true weight of the Rati, if not as an absolute vagary. The 100-Rati standard, he holds, was introduced by Maḥmūd I for the copper currency also, and was employed by all his descendants except Maḥmūd III. At the same time, the 80-Rati standard—originally established by the founder of the dynasty—was also in vogue and subsisted from the beginning to the end of their rule.

The whole matter turns on two points which are so closely interrelated, that the answer to one is also an answer to the other. Those points are :

(1) Was the weight of the Rati 1·8 or 1·85 grains ?

(2) Was the standard one of 100 Ratis or only of 96 ?

These questions it is not easy to answer. The only channel of inquiry open to us—that of coin-weights—is notoriously unsatisfactory. In the absence of literary statements or the confirmatory testimony of contemporary authors, it is hazardous to base precise deductions merely on ponderary tests of the worn, defaced and battered specimens in our collections. It is especially so in this instance where the controversy centres merely round the difference between 1·8 and 1·85, between 100 and 96. The difficulty of attaining anything like certainty in regard to the matter is enhanced by the fact that the two rival standards are, in a sense, practically identical, for 1·85×96=177·6, and 1·8×100=180.

The difference between the two Tolās amounts to only 2·4 grains and this difference of course becomes smaller for the half, the third, the fourth and other fractions of the unit. And it is

this progressive diminution of the difference which results in the subdivisions being *easily explicable, with a little latitude, on either hypothesis.* Mr. Nelson Wright informs us that Dr. Taylor himself had afterwards written "agreeing that the standard had *better be regarded* as of 100, rather than of 96 Ratis" (*op. cit.* p. 225 note). But if this shows that Dr. Taylor carried an open mind on the matter, it is also a proof of the fundamentally ambiguous character of the data themselves. If the evidence on both sides is so nearly balanced as to make the candid protagonist of one theory acquiesce, on second thoughts, in the preferability of its rival, it does not mean that the rival theory is free from doubt and difficulty.

In the first place, it is admitted that the copper currency was based, from the beginning to the end, on the 80-Rati standard of 1·8 grains to the Rati. Now the most pervading unit of this currency was the Tankcā, which is so often mentioned by the historians of Gujarat. Mr. Nelson Wright assumes and his theory irresistibly requires it to have weighed *at the maximum*, only 144 grains ($80 \times 1 \cdot 8 = 144$). Dr. Taylor postulates for it a weight of 148 grains ($96 \times 1 \cdot 85$). The coins themselves are decidedly in favour of the latter supposition. Mr. Nelson Wright has himself registered four which are beyond his maximum, *viz.* Nos. 1, 2 (Aḥmad I), 43 (Maḥmūd I) and 102 (Aḥmad III). Mr. Oliver had a piece of this type which weighed 146 grains (No. IX in *J.A.S.B.* 1889, p. 8), and two others of 145 (Aḥmad I) and 146 grains (Bahādur) are mentioned by Mr. Lane Poole (*op. cit.* p. lxix). Dr. Taylor had coins of Aḥmad II and III which turned the scale at 145 grains, issues of Aḥmad I, Bahādur and Muẓaffar III which went up to 146 grains and specimens bearing the names of the first Maḥmūd and the third, which touched 147 grains.

The extreme limit of the half-piece must, according to Mr. Nelson Wright's theory, be 72 grains, but pieces of 73 grains and 74 grains were struck not only by Maḥmūd III, but by Aḥmad I and Aḥmad III, who are explicitly stated to have adhered to the 80 Rati standard of 1·8 grains to the Rati (*vide* Dr. Taylor's Table II and Oliver, No. xxvi).

Again, Dr. Taylor supposes the silver coins first struck by Muẓaffar II to have had an issue-weight of 60 Ratis or 111 grains. According to Mr. Nelson Wright, they were 64 Rati pieces of 1·8 grains each, with a maximum of 115·2 grains. But no mintages of this Sultan or of his son Bahādur are known which exceed 111 grains, although some of them are in *very fine* condition. It is also not easy to understand why Maḥmūd III should have interposed an altogether distinct denomination which differed from the standard Muẓaffarī by only 3·2 grains. It would not be difficult to point out similar objections in regard to some of the other denominations[1] also, but it is neither necessary nor profitable to do so. The truth is that these and other possible objections are by no means unanswerable and it seems to me best for the present to leave the matter at that. The pros and cons of the rival hypotheses are of such approximately equal weight as to make it advisable to reserve judgment, pending the discovery of some literary statement or some other less uncertain guide than coin-weights.

The most essential feature of this Gujarat coinage, that which really distinguishes it from all others and sets it in a class apart

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1 Mr. Nelson Wright says that there are several coins which appear to answer to neither the 100-Rati nor the 80-Rati standard on the 1·8 Rati theory. He gives as instances a copper coin of Muẓaffar II weighing 249 grs. (*I.M.C.* No. 56), two of his son Bahādur turning the scale at 247 and 253, and two of Maḥmūd III touching 260 and 266 grains (*I.M.C.* Nos. 65, 66, 85-6). These weights are undoubtedly exceptional, but I venture to say that far from being 'vagaries', they are all easily accounted for, on Dr. Taylor's hypothesis. They are 144 Rati pieces weighing at the maximum, just half as much again as the Big Tankcā of 177·6 grains.

$$177\frac{3}{5}\times\frac{3}{2}=\frac{888}{5}\times\frac{3}{2}=\frac{1332}{5}=266\frac{2}{5}\text{ or}$$

$$\frac{144}{1}\times 1\cdot 85=\frac{144}{1}\times\frac{37}{20}=\frac{1332}{5}=266\frac{2}{5}.$$

Similarly, the two coins of Aḥmad II and Bahādur Shāh, each weighing 122 grains (*I. M. C.* 21a and 71) are their exact halves, *i.e.* 72 Rati pieces with an issue weight of $133\frac{1}{5}$ grains

$$\frac{72}{1}\times 1\cdot 85=72\times\frac{37}{20}=133\frac{1}{5}.$$

I have a copper-piece of Aḥmad II weighing 129 grains, one of Bahādur drawing 124 grs. and a silver coin of Maḥmūd III touching 133 grs.

is the *simultaneous* currency of not one but two units in copper, *each of which was almost equally prevalent and popular.* A copper Tankā of about 178 grains had not been struck before by any Imperial or Provincial ruler. Aḥmad I (or perhaps Muẓaffar I) would seem to have transferred bodily to Gujarat the metrological system which was in vogue under the Tughlaqs. He would appear to have slightly raised the maximum weight of the copper as well as the silver Tankā. But he would have nothing to do with the mixed-metal issues which were so "detrimental to the interests of the commonalty and a source of profit only to the money changers." He substituted for them a bigger copper Tankā of exactly the same weight as its counterpart in silver. He determined to do more. The ratio between 148 and 178 is approximately the same as that of 4 to 5. He therefore established a fixed relation between the old Tankā and the new, so that four of the big Tankās would always exchange for five of the smaller ones. *This inter-connection of the two Tankās and their fixed relation* was the real foundation, the guiding principle, of the subdivisional scheme introduced by him and afterwards completed by Maḥmūd I. The whole scheme was so constructed that every fraction of the silver Tankā would be equal to a certain number of *each* variety of the copper Tankā. The ruling idea of the fractional adjustments in copper was that every subdivision or fraction of one Tankā should be an aliquot part of the other. This will be clearly seen from Table II below.

TABLE I.

Maximum weights of Silver Coins.

Abbreviations: T.=Taylor; W.=Wright; *=New Types of the Hodivala Collection.

Units T.	$2\frac{1}{2}$*	5	6	$7\frac{1}{2}$	8	10	12	15	16	18*	20*	24	30 or 32
Units W.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	5	$6\frac{1}{4}$	8	8	10	$12\frac{1}{2}$	16	16 of 7.4 *grs. each.*	$18\frac{3}{4}$	20	25	$31\frac{1}{4}$
Grains T.	18·5	37	44·4	55·5	59·2	74	88·8	111	118·4	133·2	148	177·6	222 or 236
Grains W.	18·0	36	45	57·6	57·6	72	90	115·2	118·4	135	144	180	225
Ratis T.	10·	20	24	30	32	40	40	60	64	72	80	96	120
Ratis W.	10·	20	25	32	32	40	40	64	64 of 1·85 *grs. each.*	75 of	80	100	125

Table II.

Maximum Weights of Copper Coins.

Abbreviations: T.=Taylor; W.=Wright; *=New Types of the Hodivala Collection.

Units T.	2½*	4	5	6	8	10	12	15*	18*	20	22*	24	27*	30	36*	45
Units W.	2½	4	5	6¼	8	10	12½	16	18¾	20	22	25	27½	30	36	45
Grains T.	18·5	29·6	37	44·2	59·2	74	88·8	111	133·2	148	162·8	177·6	199·8	222	266·4	333
Grains W.	18	28·8	36	45	57·6	72	90	115·2	135	144	158·4	180	198	225	259·2	324
Ratis T.	10	16	20	24	30	40	48	60	72	80	88	96	108	120	144	180
Ratis W.	10	16	20	25	32	40	50	64	75	80	88	100	110	125	144	180
Fraction of small Tanka of 148 grs.	⅛	⅕	¼	$\frac{3}{16}$	⅖	½	⅗	¾	$\frac{9}{16}$	1	$1\frac{1}{16}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$	$1\frac{3}{8}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Fraction of Big Tanka of 177·6 grs.	$\frac{5}{48}$	⅙	$\frac{5}{24}$	¼	⅓	$\frac{5}{12}$	½	⅝	¾	$\frac{5}{16}$	$\frac{11}{12}$	1	$1\frac{1}{8}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{7}{8}$

Another question of almost equal, if not greater, interest and importance is, " What was the exchange value of these monetary issues ?" I am not aware of the subject having been discussed before and must crave for the following observations the indulgence due to a preliminary attempt.

I may premise that we are not entirely bereft of literary guidance here and I will briefly state, in the first instance, the substance of the information that can be gathered from the histories of the Province and other sources.

Abū Turāb Walī, who wrote a *Tārīkh-e-Gujarāt* about 1590 A.C., tells us that Humāyūn gave to his father and uncle from the Treasures found in Champaner 180,000 Maḥmūdīs, equivalent to 75,000 Akbarī Rupees. This means that the Maḥmūdī had an exchange value of $\frac{2}{5}$ths of a Rupee of Akbar. (*Bibl. Ind.* Text, p. 27.)

Sikandar bin Manjhū, who wrote about 1611 A.C., tells us that the (silver) Tankā of Gujarat was equal to eight Akbarī Tankās. (Bayley's Trans. of the *Mirāt-e-Sikandarī*, p. 208 ; Faẓlullāh's Tr. p. 66; Lithographed Text, 1831, p. 114). Now 8 Akbarī Tankās were equal to 16 dāms and at 40 dāms to the Rupee, we have the same value for the Maḥmūdī. Elsewhere, this writer declares that this silver Tankā was equal to 8 Murādī Tankās and that this Tankā was current in his own day in Khandesh (Bayley, p. 246 ; Faẓlullāh, p. 94 ; Text, p. 151). I have shown elsewhere (Num. Supp. to the *JASB.* No. XXVIII, pp. 80-96) that the Murādī Tankā was identical with the double-dām, so that this equation again yields the same value for the Maḥmūdī.

Abu'l Faẓl informs us that there was current in Berar a (silver) Tankā which was equal to 8 Tankās of Dehli, *i.e.*, $\frac{2}{5}$ths of an Akbarī Rupee (*Ā'īn*, Tr. Jarrett, II, p. 231). This coin was probably the Gujarat Maḥmūdī as Amīr Barīd, the ruler of Berar had been compelled by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat to acknowledge his suzerainty and " use his name in the Khuṭba and on the coins of the province " (*Mirāt-e-Sikandarī*, Bayley, p. 346 ; Faẓlullāh, p. 163; Text, p. 242).

The author of the *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī*, in his account of the Revenues of Gujarat in 979 A.H. (1571 A. C.), says that 50 and 75 laks of Maḥmūdīs were equal to 25 and 30 laks of Akbarī Rupees

respectively (Bird, *History of Gujarat*, p. 127; Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 14, 16; Bombay Lithographed Text, Part I, p. 25). In other words, he also assigns to the Maḥmūdī a value of $\frac{2}{5}$ths of a Rupee. But elsewhere, he repeatedly reckons what he indifferently calls the Maḥmūdī Changīzī or Changīzī as equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Rupee (Bird, *ibid.* pp. 119, 122; Bayley, pp. 12, 14; Text, pp. 22, 24).

Ferishta informs us that Mīrān Muḥammad Fārūqī, the ruler of Khandesh, was compelled by Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh to pay as the price of peace in 982 A. H. "six laks of Muẓaffaris, a sum *nearly* equal to three laks of the silver Tankas" of his own day, *i.e.* Akbarī Rupees (Briggs, Tr. IV, p. 319; Lucknow Lith. II, 138, 287).

Lastly, Abu'l Faẓl writes that in Khandesh, there was current a Tankā which was reckoned as equal to 24 dāms, *i.e.*, $\frac{2}{3}$ths of the Akbarī Rupee (*Ā'īn*, Tr. Jarrett, II, p. 225; *Bibl. Ind.* Text I, p. 474).

As for the copper Tankā, we have the contemporary assurance of the author of the *Mirāt-e-Sikandarī* that 100 Gujarat Tankcās were equivalent to one Akbarī Rupee (Text, p. 357; Faẓlullāh's Trans. p. 256) and several equations having the same import are found in the rent-roll of Muẓaffar III reproduced in the *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī* (Bird, *op. cit.* pp. 109-118; Bayley, *op. cit.* 6-14; Text, pp. 19-24).

Now the points to be determined are, which of the denominations enumerated by Dr. Taylor are to be identified with the Maḥmūdī, the Muẓaffarī, the Maḥmūdī Changīzī and the Tankcā of Gujarat. It seems easy to say that the silverling of which the issue weight was about 88 grains and which Maḥmūd I had been the first to strike was the Maḥmūdī and that the 111 grain piece of Muẓaffar II was called the Muẓaffarī.

But there is a difficulty. The difficulty is that the weights of the coins mentioned are not in accord with the exchange values assigned to them by the historians, in terms of the Akbarī Rupee. The Maḥmūdī or 88-grain coin ought to have been equivalent to the moiety of the Akbarī Rupee, weighing about 178 grains, and not to its two-fifths. The Muẓaffarī should have been worth more than $\frac{2}{5}$ths and not only the half of the Akbarī Coin ($111 \div 178 = \cdot 623$).

But a fairly satisfactory explanation of this discrepancy is to be found. It is in the *Ā'īn*. The author of that cyclopædic work has left it on record that the Maḥmūdī and Muẓaffarī of Gujarat and Malwa were not of pure silver, and that one hundred Tolās' weight of them lost 13 tolas and $6\frac{1}{2}$ māṣas, when the metal was purified for being brought up to the Imperial Standard (Jarrett's Trans. II, p. 23). In other words, the intrinsic value of their contents was about 13·75 per cent. below the standard of the Akbarī Rupee.

Moreover, they had no right to be classed as 'coins of the realm,' after the conquest of the Province by the arms of Akbar. They were regarded as uncoined bullion and were valued only as such. Now coined bullion of any standard is always worth more than uncoined of the same degree of fineness, on account of the cost of minting and the royalty or seigniorage. To these and other charges, a special chapter is devoted in the *Ā'īn* (Tr. Blochmann I, pp. 37-8).

These statistics have been concentrated by Thomas in a useful table which shows that the seigniorage amounted to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. according to Abkar's mint regulations (*Chronicles*, pp. 426-7).

In short, we have to make a deduction of 13·75+5·5 or about 19·25 per cent., in the *nominal* weights of the Gujarat coins, to establish a true correspondence or equation in terms of the Akbarī Rupee.

$$19\tfrac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{100} \times \frac{88}{1} = \frac{847}{50} = 16\,\frac{47}{50}$$

or roughly, $16\frac{3}{4}$.

In other words, we must reduce the gross weight of the Maḥmūdī by $16\frac{3}{4}$ grains to arrive at its net value in terms of the Akbarī Rupee.

$$88 - 16\tfrac{3}{4} = 71\tfrac{1}{4} = \frac{285}{4}$$

And $$\frac{285}{4} \times \frac{1}{178} = \cdot 4002,$$

or just a little more than $\frac{2}{5}$ths.

Similarly, the Muẓaffarī was worth,

$$\frac{77}{4} \times \frac{1}{100} \times \frac{111}{1} = \frac{8547}{400} = 21\,\frac{147}{400} = 21\tfrac{1}{3} \text{ (appr.)}$$

$$111 - 21\tfrac{1}{3} = 89\tfrac{2}{3}$$

$$\frac{89\frac{2}{3}}{178} = \frac{269}{3} \times \frac{1}{178} = \frac{269}{534}$$

$= \cdot 503$ or just a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Rupee.

The question relating to the Changīzī or Changīzī Maḥmūdī is more complicated. It was apparently synonymous with the Muẓaffarī. But there were two distinct varieties of the Muẓaffarī; one, of which the extreme limit was 111 grs., and another which was first stamped by Maḥmūd III and afterwards by Muẓaffar III also. Its theoretical or mint-standard was 118 grs. The author of the *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī* states that it was current in Surat, Broach and Baroda, which were in the "Jāgīr of Rustam Khān and Changīz Khān, the sons of Imādu-l-Mulk" (Bayley, pp. 12-13; Bird, pp. 118-9). In fact Changīz Khān had, like the other Amīrs among whom the kingdom had been practically partitioned at the accession of Muẓaffar III, attained the status of an almost independent ruler in the districts which he had seized. He appears to have had a partiality for the heavy type of Muẓaffarī which had been first uttered in the reign of Maḥmūd III and this is probably the real origin or explanation of the double-barrelled appellation Maḥmūdī-Changīzī.

But what was the exchange value of this heavier coin of 118 grains?

To ascertain this, we must go back to our first calculation.

$$19\tfrac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{100} \times \frac{118}{1} = \frac{4543}{200} = 22\,\frac{143}{200} \text{ grains.}$$

and if we deduct $22\,\frac{143}{200}$ or roughly $22\frac{3}{4}$ from 118, we get $95\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

But $\frac{95\frac{1}{4}}{178} = \frac{381}{4} \times \frac{1}{178} = \frac{381}{712}$ or roughly $\cdot 535$ of the Akbarī Rupee, that is, just a little ($\frac{35}{1000}$ ths) more than the *old* or lighter Muẓaffarī, *viz.* half a rupee or 20 dāms.

If the Berar Tankā of which Ab'ul Faẓl speaks as having been equivalent to 24 dāms, was identical with this heavier Muẓaffarī, it would indicate that it had a somewhat higher value, namely, $\frac{3}{5}$ths of a Rupee, *in that province*. Such small variations in the value of coins current in different provinces were not uncommon in old times and there is nothing inexplicable about them. The difference is hardly material, and the fact of Ferishta deliberately stating that six laks of Muẓaffarīs were *nearly* (قریب) equivalent to three laks of Akbarī Rupees shows that the equation was only approximately correct and that the value was subject to fluctuation.

These Changīzī Maḥmūdīs appear to have been in general circulation in Navsari and the districts round about Surat, in the first half of the seventeenth century. I have in my own possession two documents dated Vikram Samvat 1667 (1610 A.C.) and 1697 (1640 A. C.) in which the sale of ten yards of building land and certain 'incorporeal rights' by some Parsis for 25 and 45 Changīz Khānī Maḥmūdīs or Chāprīs is recorded at length. As the original text, translations and facsimiles of these papers have already appeared in my *Studies in Pārsī History* (pp. 222, 250) it is unnecessary to say anything more than invite attention to the curious vernacular synonym or designation, Chāprī, by which the Muẓaffarī seems to have been known among the masses.

We have now to pursue a similar line of inquiry in regard to the 'Tankchā-e-Gujarāt' of the Historians. Was it the coin touching 148 grains or the one turning the scale at about 178? In other words, was it the smaller of the two chief units of the copper currency or the larger ? I venture to say, with some confidence, that it was the former.

The authors of the *Mir'āt-e-Sikandarī* and the *Mir'āt-e-Aḥmadī* agree in stating that this coin was accounted as the 100th part of the Akbarī Rupee. But here again, there is an obvious disparity between the weight of the coin and its exchange value. The equation implies that 40 Akbarī dāms of 323·5 grains each were equal to 100 Gujarat Tankcās of 148 grains each. In other words, the Gujarat Tankcā was reckoned as the $\frac{4}{10}$ths or $\frac{2}{5}$ths of the

dām, although the true ratio was *less than* $\frac{4}{9}$-ths: $\frac{148}{1} \times \frac{10}{4} = 370$;

$148 \times \frac{9}{4} = \frac{1332}{4} = 333.$

This knot can be unravelled in the same way as the other. The seigniorage and cost of minting must be taken into account. These charges were about 6 per cent. for copper (*Ā'īn*, Trans. Blochmann I, p. 38). We must therefore deduct about 9 grs. from 148 ; for $\frac{148}{1} \times \left(\frac{6}{1} \times \frac{1}{100} \right) = \frac{888}{100} = 8\frac{22}{25}$.

But coppercoins—the money of the commonality—are always more liable to wear than the mintages in the more precious metals, and allowing only 5 per cent. for wear (Dr. Taylor has estimated the loss by abrasion at 10 p.c.)—it is clear that we must deduct $16\frac{1}{2}$ $(9+7\frac{1}{2})$ from the gross maximum weight. Now, $148-16\frac{1}{2} = 131\frac{1}{2}$; $131\frac{1}{2} \times 100 = 13150$ grs. and the total amount of copper in 40 dāms, was, at the outside, $323 \cdot 5 \times 40 = 12940$, which is as fair an approximation to the first result as we can expect.

Another gauge is also available. Ab'ul Fazl informs us, in the same chapter, that the market-value of a maund of uncoined copper was 1044 dāms ; that of a seer was $26\frac{1}{10}$ dāms, and that the seer weighed as much as 30 dāms. This implies that the market-value of $323 \cdot 5 \times 30$, *i.e.*, 9,705 grains of copper-bullion was $26\frac{1}{10}$ dāms. But if the money-value of 9705 grains of copper bullion was $26\frac{1}{10}$ dāms, that of 148 grains must have been $\frac{1}{9705} \times \frac{261}{10} \times \frac{148}{1} =$ ·398 or very little (·002) less than $\frac{2}{5}$ths of a dām.

Briefly, the Maḥmūdī or silver-piece weighing about 88 grs. was rated at $\frac{2}{5}$ths of the Rupee, the Muẓaffarī, which scaled about 111 grs., at its half. Similarly, the Tankcā or smaller copper unit of 148 grains was $\frac{2}{5}$ths of the dām and its bigger brother was equal to its moiety.

But this was only their normal or book-rate value. The actual rates differed from day to day. These fluctuations round the norm were confined in ordinary times within narrow limits, but they were occasionally violent, especially in seasons of scarcity. The nine

volumes of the correspondence of the East India Company edited by Mr. Foster contain ample evidence on this subject.

The East India Company's accounts at Surat were kept in Maḥmūdīs reckoned at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to the rupee and the book-rate of 32 pice, (*i.e.* half-dāms) to the Maḥmūdī and 80 pice to the rupee (*op.cit.* 1630-33, p. 209). But we are informed elsewhere that 42 rupees were equivalent to 100 Maḥmūdīs (*ibid.* 1622-23, p. 19) and again that the rupee was worth only $2\frac{1}{4}$ Maḥmūdīs (*ibid.* 1642-45, p. 96). And President Methwold writes that though for two or three years before the famine of 1632 A.C. the Maḥmūdī was not worth above 20, 21 and 22 pice, it was then (1638 A.C.) worth 25 (*ibid.* 1637-41, p. 206). Lastly, Peter Mundy tells us that the Maḥmūdī was " equal to 20 pice sometymes more, sometymes lesse " (*Travels*, Ed. Sir Richard C. Temple, II, p. 311).

The scope of the inquiry has been thus far confined to the exchange value of the money of the Gujarat Sultans during the last quarter of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries, in terms of the Mughal dām and the Mughal Rupee. It is much more germane to the matter and also more instructive to determine the relative position of the silver Tankā and its two replicas in copper, during the period of their own domination—the century and a half for which the Salṭanat endured. Here again, the annalists of the Province are unhappily silent. In the absence of any light from that source, we are obliged to turn for guidance to the contemporary Delhi Coinage on which the Gujarat system was evidently modelled.

Now, Thomas has given very good reasons for holding, if he has not actually proved, that the Delhi copper Tankā of about 144 grs. was valued, at this period, (*circa* 1400 A. C.) as the 80th part of the silver Tankā of about 175 grs. and that the ratio of copper and silver was as 64 : 1 (*Chronicles*, pp. 363-4). But if a grain of silver was equivalent to 64 grains of copper, it is obvious that a Tankā of 178 grains of silver would be worth 64 copper Tankās of the *like* weight and nearly 77 copper Tankās of 148 grs. each.

$$\frac{64}{1} \times \frac{178}{148} = \frac{2848}{37} = 76\frac{36}{37}$$

Unfortunately, 77 is divisible by only two numbers, and its utility is exceedingly limited where numerous fractional adjustments are required. The proximate number most eligible for such a purpose is obviously 80. Tradition, contemporary usage, the indigenous ponderary systems and methods of computation were all in its favour and it is permissible to *conjecture* that Aḥmad Shāh I, who first struck the 178 grain silver Tankā, made it current for 80 of the smaller or 148 grain copper-tankcās. He does not appear to have issued the larger or 178-grain piece. At least, no specimen bearing his name or that of either of his immediate successors—Muḥammad II and Aḥmad II—has been yet discovered. It was presumably Maḥmūd Begadā by whom the 178-grain copper Tankā was first uttered. If that Sultan had adhered to the standard introduced by his grandfather, he would have had to make $66\frac{2}{3}$ of them exchange for the silver Tankā and for 80 of the 148 grain coppers.

$$\frac{80}{1} \times \frac{148}{178} = \frac{5920}{89} = 66\frac{46}{89}$$

But for reasons similar to those which had influenced the founder of the system, he would seem to have fixed its value at the 64th part of the silver unit. This adjustment was lacking in mathematical exactitude, but it was very convenient. Maḥmūd overvalued the *big* copper-piece ; Aḥmad I had under-valued the *smaller* one. 148 is to 177.6 (the *exact* equivalent of 96 Ratis at 1·85 grs. to the Rati) as 5 is to 6.

$$\frac{148}{1} \times \frac{6}{5} = \frac{888}{5} = 177\frac{3}{5} = 177 \cdot 6 \text{ grs.}$$

The ratio adopted by Aḥmad Shāh I, 64: 80 (or 4: 5), was therefore demonstrably wrong. Maḥmūd was obliged to repeat the error, but two wrongs do not make a right. The repetition did nothing to improve the state of things, which was really made worse by the stamping of the new silver half-piece (the Maḥmūdī), which was made current for 40 small and 32 large Tankcās. It would appear (from the large number of Maḥmūdīs which still exist in our collections), that this coin supplied a real want, but its general vogue or prevalence only extended and aggravated the consequences of the original disparity.

Muẓaffar II, was, unlike his father, a person of some education and culture. He was not only an orthodox Sunnī, a legalist and a formalist, but a soft hearted and upright man with a queasy conscience (see Bayley, pp. 279 ff.; Faẓlullāh, pp. 119 ff.). The discrepancy could have hardly failed to arrest the attention of such a monarch, and I have sometimes ventured to think that the issue of the new 111-grain piece was really due to an attempt on his part to rectify this error. Accustomed to "tithe mint and anise and cummin" himself, he could not but sympathise with the tendency or pertinacious desire of the Hindu mind to insist upon the "rigorous exaction of full metallic values" (Thomas, p. 281).

It might be worth while to note that he practically *discontinued* the issue of the 88 as well as 177 grain silver pieces, and that in this respect, his example was followed by Bahādur Shāh and Maḥmūd III. He probably knew that an alteration of the ratios of the *old* coins was not feasible after their having been in vogue for so many years. He therefore *cast them off altogether*, and, so to say, demonetised the Maḥmūdī as well as the big silver Tankā. The whole of the silver currency system was faulty and it was necessary to begin *de novo*. An altogether new type of coin must be struck, an altogether new standard-piece introduced. The old heavy silver Tankā of 178 grs. was evidently unsuited to the requirements of an impecunious people. (There were only six specimens in Dr. Taylor's cabinet as against 31 Maḥmūdīs.) The Maḥmūdī had been an undoubted success, but its metrology was radically false.

The weight of the new coin must be so fixed that at the rate of one grain of silver to sixty-four grains of copper, it should be equivalent to such an even number of either of the two copper Tankcās, as was exactly proportional to their weights. The problem was solved thus:

111 grs. of silver were worth 7,104 of copper.

$(111 \times 64 \text{ grs.}) = 7{,}104.$

The smaller Tankcā weighed 148 grs.

$\therefore$ 111 grs. of silver $= \frac{7104}{148} = 48$ small Tankcās.

and to $\frac{7104}{177\frac{3}{5}} = 40$ big Tankās.

And 48 : 40, exactly as $177\frac{3}{5}$: 148, *i.e.*, 6 : 5.

In this connection, it may be remarked that this Sultan struck only two other types of silver coins, the weights of which corresponded to the half (55½ grains, cf. *I.M.C.* No. 55) and the one-third (37 grains; my collection) of the Muẓaffarī, which now *became the standard coin of the new scale* of sub-divisions in silver. His son, Bahādur and Maḥmūd III introduced two others—the one-sixth ($111 \times \frac{1}{6} = 18\frac{1}{2}$) and the six-fifths ($111 \times \frac{6}{5} = 133\frac{2}{5}$). I have four specimens of the former, all dated 943 A. H. The beautiful genealogical piece of Bahādur weighing 130 grains and another "irreducible" stamped by Maḥmūd III touching 131 grains which puzzled Dr. Taylor (*op. cit.* p. 325) fall into the latter class.

Maḥmūd III's heavy issue of about 118.4 grains was, if the weight only is considered, the $\frac{16}{15}$ths of the *old* Muẓaffarī, but I am myself inclined to think that the alteration was connected with an attempt to readjust the coinage to the change which had taken place in the market-price of the two metals. Maḥmūd III was contemporary with Shīr Shāh and Islām Shāh. Thomas has shown that about 1550 A. C. the ratio was not 1 : 64 but 1: 72 (*Chronicles*, p. 410). The external appearance of some of Maḥmūd's issues would also indicate that he made some change in the standard of fineness, but this is a matter on which it would be hazardous to say anything positive, until the coins have been assayed.

It may be noted that Maḥmūd III went no further. He does not appear to have tried to resuscitate the heavy silver Tankā of 178 grains. Aḥmad III would *seem* to have done so, though the highest weights known are only 168 and 164 grains. The heavy coin touching 222 grains of this Sultan is probably a *double* Muẓaffarī of the *old* type, and ($111 \times \frac{3}{2}$) = $166\frac{1}{2}$ is a very close approximation to 168. Muẓaffar III does appear to have reintroduced the old silver Tankā of Maḥmūd I, but another explanation of his 174 gr. silver-pieces is also possible.

$$118{\cdot}4 \times \frac{3}{2} = 118\frac{2}{5} \times \frac{3}{2} = 177\frac{3}{5}.$$

In other words, his object may have been perhaps to introduce a coin weighing half as much again as the *new* Muẓaffarī.

The marrow of the matter is that the old heavy silver Tankā of Maḥmūd I *ceased to be the basis of the sub-divisional scheme* in that

metal soon after the death of that Sultan. It was " compulsorily retired " and laid aside altogether. Its creature or moiety, the Maḥmūdī also went out of the field for ever. Thereafter, the foundation of the system, the *standard* silver coin of the realm, was not the Tankā (or the Maḥmūdī) but the Muẓaffarī, a less heavy coin, but better adapted to the requirements of an impecunious people.

Maḥmūd III and Muẓaffar III undoubtedly struck gold coins, weighing 185 grains, but no silver replica of these issues has been ever discovered. Nor does it follow that the silver standard was of 100 Ratis, because a few coins of that weight were struck in gold, for gifts, souvenirs or the purposes of foreign trade. It may be pointed out in this connection that I know of no explicit reference to the gold Muẓaffarī in the indigenous histories and chronicles. But it is not infrequently mentioned by the Portuguese writers under the strange name of *Madrafaxao*. Thus Nunez writes (about 1554 A.C.): " There also come to this city [Goa] *Madrafaxaos*, which are a money of Cambaya, which vary greatly in price. Some are of 24 tangas of 60 *reis* the tanga, others of 23, 22, 21 and other prices according to time and value " (*Livro dos Pesos da Ymdia*, quoted in *Hobson Jobson*, Ed. Crooke, p. 532). It is true that Nunez probably alludes to the gold coin of Muẓaffar II ; the *third* and last Sultan of that name came to the throne in 1561 A.C. but its later analogues are referred to by subsequent writers and their commercial value is stated in Mr. Whiteway's *Rise of the Portuguese in India*.

I am fully aware that this is the most speculative portion of my paper and I have no doubt that it is also that round which controversy will centre. I am not ignorant that the premises on which these ideas are founded are, to a certain extent, problematical or conjectural. The ratio of silver and copper and the relative exchange value of the copper Tankā are not propositions which have been proved, but it is not too much to say that they are very probable deductions from indisputable facts, about which numismatists are in *general* agreement. These ideas have been therefore put forward as suggestions for criticism in the hope that they may lead to the true solution of the complex problem presented by the metrology of the series.

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

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I.—Early Career.[1]

Born in 1779, fourth son of Baron Elphinstone, Mountstuart Elphinstone joined the Bengal Civil Service at Calcutta in 1796, a "not particularly studious youth, full of energy and high spirits, fond of desultory reading and much disposed to sympathise with the principles of the French Revolution."[2] These qualities he retained through life save that this love of a somewhat desultory study continuously grew upon him; but it was never allowed to interfere with his performance of duty and was constantly made to subserve the needs of his official positions. Throughout life his attitude to religion was that of the mere theist, if not the sceptic, and he "was apparently quite devoid of those ardent religious feelings which have inspired so many Indian heroes".[2] The bearing of this on his educational policy will be apparent when we examine his attitude to missionary work and exclusion of religion from the sphere of education. After three years at Benares he was in 1801 sent to study in the newly established College of Fort William for the instruction of Junior Civil Servants. But he was there only for two months and then travelled by a circuitous route across India to take up a post at Poona, arriving there early in 1802. He served in the Third Maratha War at the battle of Assaye and Argaum with conspicuous ability and was promoted in 1804 to the post of resident at the Court of the Bhonsla at Nagpur. In 1808 he was appointed ambassador at the Afghan Court at Kabul, and the knowledge he gained there and opinions he expressed contributed much to the formation of the Indian Government's sub-

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[1] Colebrook's *Life of M. Elphinstone* (1844), and *Elphinstone* by J. S. Cotton (Rulers of India), 1896.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography.* For Elphinstone's religious opinions cf. Heber's *Journal* III—134 and Colebrooke II, 173 and 410.

sequent frontier policy. In 1810 he was appointed resident at Poona. He managed admirably the intricate relations with Baji-rao, the Peshwa, until he was, without due cause, superseded by General Hislop and Malcolm. In the Fourth Maratha War, which broke out in 1817, it was Elphinstone who most contributed to the defeat of the Peshwa at Kirkee. He was naturally selected for the settlement of the Maratha Territories of the Peshwa and Raja of Satara and took up his office of Commissioner of the Deccan in January 1818. He adopted the policy of preserving all that he thought was best in the existing system of administration and this policy is embodied in the elaborate and excellent "Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa."[3] We, who are here concerned only with his attitude to education, can find in this the germs of his developed policy towards the intellectual and moral development of Indians.

II.—Commissioner of the Deccan.

As Commissioner in these circumstances it was Elphinstone's duty to build up the British power in the newly acquired territories on a solid basis of the acquiescence of the natives in a broad-minded, impartial but above all settled and efficient administration. It was necessary first of all to give peace, security of rights and justice: but secondarily it was incumbent to reconcile hostility by respecting prejudice and tradition: thirdly it was essential to create material prosperity and moral and intellectual enlightenment. But since moral and intellectual culture were just those things most likely to run counter to prejudice and tradition, great caution was necessary and progress of this kind could not claim immediate attention. Elphinstone's continuous wide reading had obviously brought him into touch with the widespread educational movements of Europe, so greatly strengthened, if not initiated, by Rousseau. The responsibility of Government for the education of the governed was now being felt, if seldom acknowledged and but indifferently practised. Even the Court of Directors had so far reacted as to permit in 1811 a single lakh of rupees to be expended on educational purposes; while in 1815 the Governor-General had

[3] See Forrest, *Official Writings of M. Elphinstone.*

outlined a definite if very limited policy for building up a system of elementary education in India. Simultaneously the Evangelical religious movement of the eighteenth century was seeking fresh outlets in missionary work abroad. English missionaries did not appear in Western India till 1810 and American till 1813. These missionaries brought with them the knowledge of the system of education recently developed by Lancaster and Bell to meet the lack of funds and of teachers that beset all education in its earlier days. Their work and enthusiasm reacted on the Church of England, both at home and abroad. It was in 1815 that the Bombay Education Society was founded by the Anglicans, and this Society borrowed its ideas and educational methods from the National Society in England from whom, in 1818, it obtained a headmaster and mistress. Thus, curiously, through Anglicans and missionaries, the methods adapted in 1796 by Bell in Madras from the native schools in order to meet a lack of teachers, these methods, translated to England in 1798 and there developed and improved by Bell and Lancaster, were in the second decade of the nineteenth century, repatriated to India with most beneficial effect. These humanitarian and religious tendencies were being aided by the development of science which called for new methods of research to promote it, and new methods of education to propagate it. Even if they had been available, Elphinstone, as we shall see, would not have been prepared to employ missionaries in the pacification or intellectual development of a district in the circumstances of the Deccan. But he clearly recognises in the Report, the responsibility of the British Government, not merely for the tranquillity, security and material prosperity of the Deccan, but also for its moral and intellectual improvement. His account of the moral character of the Marathas on the whole does credit to that race and he adds " I do not perceive anything that we can do to improve the morals of the people except by improving their education."[4] How that may best be done he is doubtful. " There are already many schools in all towns and in many villages ; but reading is confined to Brahmins and Banias and such of the agricultural classes as have to do with accounts. I am not sure that our establishing free schools would

[4] Forrest, *op. cit.* page 334.

alter this state of things and it might create a suspicion of some concealed design on our part."[5] He suggests that the press might be a better agent than the school master, and Hindu religion and prejudice might be called in to aid reform. There were many Hindu tales and fables conveying sound morals and Hindu books of religion that with judicious omission of what was controversial would serve the same purpose. Cheap and gratuitous copies of these might be prepared and circulated. The policy should be to preserve and purify their present tenets and thereby enlighten their understandings; and to avoid even the semblance of a direct attack on religion which, if unsuccessful, would provoke bitter feelings and, if successful, would only shake their reverence for all religion. This attitude to the Hindu religion was stated even more emphatically in para. 58 of the minute of 1823. "To the mixture of religion, even in the slightest degree with our plans of education, I must strongly object. I cannot agree to clog with any additional difficulty a plan which has already so many obstructions to surmount. *I am convinced that the conversion of the natives must infallibly result from the diffusion of knowledge among them.* Evidently they are not aware of the connection or all attacks on their ignorance would be as vigorously resisted as if they were on their religion."[6]

This part of his policy, he remarks in a minute, was approved by the Supreme Government and sanctioned by the Court of Directors.[7] A second proposal of this time provoked much discussion. The Peshwa's charities, and other religious expenses, Elphinstone says, amounted to nearly 15 lakhs,[8] and his first proposal was to reduce this expenditure to two lakhs which should include the foundation of two colleges in the sacred towns of Nasik and Wai. This proposal was approved by the Court, but he afterwards modified it.[8] The Peshwa's charities included an annual distribution of 5 lakhs to give prizes to learned Brahmins

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[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Forrest, *op. cit.* page 105. The italics are mine.

[7] Secretariat Records, General Department, Volume 8-63 of 1824, page 262. Cf. minute of December 1820.

[8] Forrest, *op. cit.* pages 60 and 335. The approval of the Court is stated in a minute, dated December 1820.

but as a handsome sum was given to every claimant, however ignorant, the institution degenerated into mere almsgiving. He therefore proposed that the original purpose of the distribution should be carried out, but by a reduced distribution of Rs. 50,000, most of which instead of being conferred on proficients in Hindu divinity might be allotted to those most skilled in more useful branches of learning, law, mathematics, etc., and a certain number of professors appointed to teach these sciences. This proposal, which apparently aimed at devoting a large portion of this fund to a college for higher branches of learning, was referred to Mr. Chaplin, successor of Elphinstone as Commissioner, and ultimately, as we shall see, bore fruit in the Hindu College at Poona.

III.—Governor of Bombay.

In 1819 Elphinstone was appointed Governor of Bombay and with the wider sphere of action and responsibility his ideas and plans widened. But it was some years yet before he ventured to formulate a general policy of education. This is how in September 1825 he himself described[9] the modification of his views induced by increased familiarity with intellectual conditions in Western India. "While I was in the Deckan I was led by an erroneous impression of the flourishing state of native schools to think that Colleges at Poona and Nassuck, with the printing of a number of books translated under the superintendence of the Persian Secretary, would be sufficient to answer every purpose. Further information and experience of the ill success of that plan led me to look to the School Society [*i.e.*, the Bombay Education Society] for assistance and to suggest the formation of a new branch for Native Schools and School Books." But the first problem he set himself to was the education of junior civil servants in the vernaculars and their revenue and other duties.[10] He himself attached great importance to such a training of Civil servants and the Court had also ordered that a plan should be formulated for a college at Bombay for this purpose on the lines of

[9] Minute of Elphinstone in Secretariat Records, General Department, Vol. 92 (1825).

[10] Secretariat Records, General Department, Vol. 10 (1821).

one set up at Madras. A committee was accordingly appointed to formulate a scheme and meanwhile Elphinstone wrote for the regulations of the College at Fort William which he himself had attended. When a copy arrived it suggested to him a plan for a college on a much wider scale. The perusal of the regulations, he says, made him " doubt whether more good will not result from the education of the natives than from that of the Europeans " and accordingly he suggested to the committee that the college should combine with the teaching of junior civilians the education of natives in Grammar, Literature, Mathematics, Philosophy and Law and also the training of school masters : this college, he suggested, would take the place of the projected college at Poona. In November 1820 the committee put forth a scheme for a college at Bombay with three branches : one for instructing civil and military officers, chiefly European, in oriental languages : a second for instructing an unlimited number of Hindus in their own sciences : a considerable number of these students were to be paid stipends and it was expected that some on completion of the course would become teachers in the college, others school-masters, others pandits in the courts of justice : the third was to teach students of all castes and races the Arabic and Persian languages and literature, and Mahomedan Law : there were also to be classes in Government regulations for pleaders, and in native and revenue accounts. The total cost of all branches of this College was reckoned at Rs. 45,984 per annum and, when to this was added the salary of a secretary, it was reckoned that the Dakshina fund of Rs. 50,000 would about cover it. Elphinstone thoroughly approved of the plan and pointed out that even if both the Bombay College and the Dakshina were maintained the cost would be only half the two lakhs already sanctioned by the Court. The other members of his Council, however, thought it too expensive and that Bombay was not a suitable location for the college and in February 1821 it was agreed to refer the scheme to the Court. That body ultimately refused to sanction it.

In the meantime Chaplin, now Commissioner of the Deccan, had sent in a plan for a Hindu College at Poona. The purpose of this college was to preserve and promote the study of Brah

minical learning and furnish a moderate provision for a certain number of Brahman shastris and students, thereby removing the ground for grievance, strongly felt at Poona, at the reduction of the Dakshina and also proving the British Government's sense of its responsibility for the culture of the country: incidentally it would also provide an authoritative body to which questions of Hindu Law could be referred. It was devised so as to secure that "whatever is taught and learnt in this College shall be fully understood and not merely repeated by rote without any knowledge of its meaning": and secondly so as to subordinate the study of the Vedas to that of the Shastras. The committee to whom it was referred compared it unfavourably with the proposed triple college at Bombay and especially objected to Poona as a locality out of touch with all modern learning. But Elphinstone felt that he was pledged to provide some institution for higher Indian learning and hoped to make provision for sciences of more modern and practical character at Bombay. So on the 6th October 1821 the Hindu College was opened with a staff of ten to teach the seven Shastras and three Vedas and 100 scholarships of Rs. 5 per mensem. The course of study ranged from seven to ten years. Proficiency was tested by annual examinations: a library was granted from books in the possession of Government. About the same time the Dakshina was reduced to about Rs. 35,000, the college costing about Rs. 15,000.

Three other educational schemes mark this first stage of Elphinstone's rule. In 1821 he suggested[11] the creation of an Engineer Institute in Bombay, similar to one in Madras, for the education of youths born in the country in the practical parts of surveying. The Court in 1822 approved the suggestion which however does not seem to have been carried out till early in 1824. In 1821 with Elphinstone's approval, if not at his suggestion, provision was made by the military authorities for a pandit to instruct sepoy boys of every regiment or battalion in reading, writing or accounts. This important means of spreading instruction was amplified in 1826 and 1827 by his government's

[11] Minute of September 1825; Secretariat Records, General Department, Vol. 92 (1825).

approval of the supply of trained teachers and books by the Education Society to regimental schools.[12] Even more important was the decision in August 1820 of the Bombay Education Society to make native education a more important part of its work. If the suggestion came from the Governor, the Bombay District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had also something to do with this.[13] Accordingly the Bombay Education Society formed a special committee to develop this work, which indeed it had begun as early as 1818. The Committee began by providing vernacular translations of educational books, especially a description in Gujarati of the Lancastrian method of teaching: and it opened a Gujarati school in the Fort in 1821. Elphinstone aided by procuring for the Society an entirely new fount of Marathi type.[13]

A new stage in Elphinstone's work opens with the decision of the Bombay Education Society in August 1822,[14] that its "Native School and School Book Committee" should be constituted an entirely separate Society with Elphinstone as its President. This step was obviously taken in order that the work of the parent Society in giving a Christian education to European and Anglo-Indian boys might not be confounded with the work of native education and bring on the latter the religious hostility of Indians. That Elphinstone was partly responsible seems probable from the passage in his minute of 1825 already quoted. The new School Book Society aimed at improving existing schools and providing new and superior schools and educational methods, primarily through the vernacular languages; but also secondarily at providing instruction in English: further to provide the requisite books and apparatus and to train teachers. Here was the nucleus of an organisation that could set in motion a new and improved system of elementary education. It set to work at once and soon had six vernacular schools in the Island of Bombay and an English school at Poona which Elphinstone himself encouraged but which did not last more than a year. In May 1823, Elphin-

[12] Report of B. N. E. S. 1830.

[13] Sixth Report of Bombay Education Society, 1821.

[14] Proceedings of Bombay School and School Book Society.

stone's Government undertook the cost of printing the Society's publications.[15] In June 1823 a similar Society was opened in the South Konkan, and later collaborated with the Bombay Society.[16] In September 1823, not being content with its progress, the Bombay Society conducted a special enquiry into the best means of promoting native education and at Elphinstone's own suggestion presented its report[17] to Government and asked for aid in carrying out its proposals. This, he tells us, was what occasioned his elaborate minute on education in December 1823.[18]

In the meantime the Governor had himself promoted further schemes for education. In July 1823[19] he sanctioned an experimental plan of the Collector of Dharwar for educating Indians for Government Service by means of practical lectures on Hindu law and revenue accounts and regulations, to be given by officers on his establishment, with 20 scholarships of Rupees five for the students: he granted aid to the South Konkan Society;[20] he rewarded the author of a Marathi-English dictionary with Rs. 5,000[21] and inspired another proposal from the Collector of the North Konkan for setting up in his district 15 *elementary vernacular* schools under superintendents at Rs. 20 each and one English school.[22]

Already then before his minute was written Elphinstone had set in motion the two main currents of the educational policy propounded in that minute, *viz.* direct Government undertaking of elementary vernacular education and substantial aid to voluntary educational institutions.

The fundamental principle of this minute of December 1823, is stated at the beginning,[23] that considerable assistance

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15 Proceedings N. S. S. B. Soc.

16 *Ibid.*

17 This report is still extant in the records of Elphinstone College. See also *Indian Education* for May 1922.

18 Forrest, *op. cit.* p. 79.

19 Secretariat Records, G. D., 1823, Vol. 55.

20 Records of B. N. E. Society.

21 Secretariat Records, G. D., 1823, Vol. 55.

22 Secretariat Record, G. D., Vol. 8-63 of 1824.

23 Forrest, *op. cit.* p. 79.

from Government is a necessary condition of the promotion of native education, and far more so in Bombay than in Bengal, because the number of Europeans in Bombay is fewer and voluntary effort is therefore less to be expected : moreover the subjection of large parts of the Presidency is very recent. To this principle none of his advisers objected but there was great difference of opinion as to the extent of Government aid and the directions in which it should be given. The second feature of Elphinstone's policy was, that it insisted on a combination of direct Government undertaking with aid to the Bombay School Book Society or other similar Society. He proposed to rely on the Society for improvement in the method of teaching in native schools by training teachers and for the provision and printing of suitable school books in the vernacular and of books of moral and physical science in the native languages. To the Society too in the main he would leave the provision of teaching in English : they should conduct a central school in Bombay for instruction in English and European sciences and, if they could, promote and superintend similar schools elsewhere. The Society's share thus included both elementary and secondary or higher education and covered the functions of both the present Vernacular and Secondary Training Colleges, inspectorial functions through its superintendents, the functions of a Text Book Committee, and lastly the conduct of a High School or second grade College. The share of Government was even more important. It was to encourage the creation of vernacular schools in villages and groups of villages where they were required and provide small stipends to the teachers not by special taxation, but by authorising payment out of village local funds (a sort of educational cess ?) and by diversion to educational purposes of portions of other local grants or allowances, or by commutation of services on which lands were held. These schools and school masters were to be placed under the control of the Collectors. The local vaccinators were also to be used in the conduct of schools. Secondly, Government was to bear the expense of printing and of preparing or translating books for higher and for elementary education : and also to arrange and supply funds for the award of prizes and other rewards to encour-

age natives to seek education. Thus virtually Elphinstone proposed that Government should undertake the provision, control, and financial cost of elementary village schools, as well as the cost of providing the necessary apparatus for both elementary and secondary education. A third feature of Elphinstone's policy is that elementary education through the vernaculars forms its basis, while the teaching of English and of the European Sciences and teaching in or through English is subordinate to this. Education is to be diffused widely through the Presidency and by means of the instrument familiar to the people. The demand for English, he held, existed only in or near Bombay, and among a few who thought it would help their business or procure them office under Government. If there were a real demand, the teaching of English would be the quickest way of disseminating European knowledge. Without such demand the teaching of English and European knowledge must be limited to Bombay and a few other places. He looks forward distinctly to the foundation of colleges for European science in Bombay, with Indian professors under European superintendence but regards this as a somewhat remote possibility. On the other hand (Sec. 63 and 65) he is definite that Indian education must be founded on India's previous knowledge and imbued with the Indian's original and peculiar character. For this reason, rather than because he attaches much value to oriental learning, he concedes that it must be kept alive. Thus he would not, in 1823 at least, have accepted the policy to which ten years' later Macaulay converted the Supreme Government.

Fourthly, he explicitly states that religious teaching must be entirely excluded from government and aided schools. I have already quoted his words on this matter and in a later minute he states emphatically that he desires to impose no restriction on missionaries but would not allow them to exercise any control or part in the teaching of Government institutions.[24]

Fifthly, while he does not exclude the lower castes, his scheme is designed principally for the upper. Widespread education of the low castes would only create a new class superior in accom-

[24] Minute of 29th December 1823, in reply to Warden's minute; Secretariat Records, Vol. 8–63 of 1824.

plishments to the higher, and therefore preferred to office, but hated and despised by them: in other words, a class war might arise which could only be desirable if we wished to rest our rule on the division of our subjects.

Lastly he writes, "the most important branch of education in my opinion is that designed to prepare natives for public employment." He always insists on this purpose, not merely because he believes that British rule has created hostility by depriving many of their employment or of much of their emoluments: and also because there was an immediate need of Indian public servants, especially in the medical service: but further because he recognised that education must and would fit Indians for not merely public employment but also for important administrative and judicial offices. The education of Indians was necessarily the fitting of them for self-government and must ultimately lead to that. The time when they would be fit for it he thought remote but certain of coming.[25]

The plan and policy of Elphinstone was not accepted by Mr. Warden, a member of his Council, who in a long minute outlined one of his own. Elphinstone and Warden, in further lengthy minutes each explained his own and criticised the other's plan and a third member of Council added still other considerations. "Mr. Warden's chiefly differs from my plan," wrote Elphinstone,[26] "in giving greater encouragement to the study of English, and in dropping the arrangements for extending native schools, printing school books and granting prizes to schools, as well as those for teaching the higher branches of learning, for translating books of science and for granting rewards to persons of eminent scientific attainments. Besides this difference in the objects, it differs in the means: it depends more exclusively on the Education Society and rejects the proposal for raising funds applicable to the furtherance of our present objects." Warden held that education as a Government concern would be too expensive, that they must trust mainly to private effort and interfere as little as possible with the institutions of the country. The native schools should

[25] Minute of September 1825. Colebrooke, II, p. 158-9.

[26] M. Elphinstone's reply to Warden s minute.

be left untouched and unnoticed. The missionaries might be indirectly encouraged to undertake education. Government should concentrate on the endowment of a central school for English in Bombay and draft teachers thence to one school in each Zillah town, to work under control of Collectors on salaries and with a house and a little land provided by Government. No person should be employed in Government service unless certified able to read and write his own language. He objected to the distribution of types through the country as implying either a free press which would be dangerous or a restricted press which would be inconsistent with the diffusion of education.[27]

Finally when all were weary with minute writing it was decided in March 1824 to call on all Collectors to report on the extent and character of the existing education and the best means of providing for its extension and improvement; and in the meantime to sanction the provision of lithographic presses, to allow a monthly rent to the School Book Society for buildings, means for compiling native works, Rs. 2,500 per annum for the Society's proposed English School in Bombay and further sums to provide for the training of vernacular masters. The Society at once went to work and, in July 1824, opened an English School which developed without break of continuity into the old Elphinstone Institution and the present Elphinstone High School and Elphinstone College: it provided itself with buildings, and started a training school.

It was not till the end of 1824 that the reports of the Collectors arrived. They are lengthy and present an interesting picture of the indigenous education, especially the report of T. B. Jervis for the South Konkan. But I have no space to print extracts from them. They confirmed however to Elphinstone, and he reported to the Court, " that education is in a low state throughout the country and that the instruction imparted in schools extends with very limited exceptions only to such an elementary acquaintance with arithmetic and writing as is absolutely necessary for the business of a shopkeeper or tallatee: and that but a small proportion of the people acquire even this knowledge and that

[27] Fisher's Memoir, Appendix.

the aid of Government in providing or assisting the remuneration of school masters is essential to any advancement of learning if not to the preservation of the very inefficient and defective means of instruction now existing."[28] He further recommended to the Court all of the seven measures proposed in his minute of December 1823.

The educational work of Elphinstone during the remaining three years of his tenure of office can only be briefly summarized. It consisted firstly in the development of the dual system of elementary education which his minute of December 1823 initiated. The vital centre of the system continued till 1832 to be the Society's headquarters at Bombay, but the Collectors' offices were also centres from which educational stimulus came forth and when in 1832 the schools in the mofussil and the superintendents were placed under direct control of the Collectors of Poona and Surat and the Society's control limited to the island of Bombay, Elphinstone's conception of a Governmental system of education may be said to have been really established. The change of the Society's title in 1827 to the Bombay Native Education Society marks the determination to make elementary vernacular education the main plank in Government's policy. "The moral and intellectual culture of the native mind," said the Society's report for 1825-26, "is most successfully effected by employing the native language as the medium of communication." "The study of English has hitherto invariably rendered a native negligent of his own vernacular and he is in danger of being unable to communicate his knowledge to his countrymen." In 1828 there were in the Presidency 25 schools with masters paid by Government, with 1,315 scholars; and in all 1,705 schools with 35,153 scholars. The population is estimated as 4,681,735 and the proportion of scholars to the population is 133.[29] The Society's schools had risen by 1830 to 56 with 3,000 pupils. In 1826 its first batch of 24 masters was drafted out and distributed by Collectors in 23 schools and as many followed each subsequent year. These teachers were selected by Collectors and sent to Bombay for train-

[28] Fisher, *op. cit.* p. 428.
[29] Fisher, *op. cit.* p. 471.

ing. The Society also supplied teachers to regimental schools and sometimes even missionary schools. Its schools were distinguished into three 'orders': [30] *Superior Schools* in which the higher academical learning was available, such as the central English and perhaps the central vernacular school at Bombay—finishing schools as it were—staffed by masters who had themselves carried their education up to this point, had been trained under European supervision and had passed some qualifying examination: *Middle Schools* staffed by ordinary trained masters: *Village Schools* teaching the bare rudiments and staffed by scholars from the Middle Schools. In 1827 arrangements were made for re-training trained masters. It must be remembered that the bulk of the Society's expenditure was derived from Government.

Elphinstone was by no means blind to the value of providing Indians with opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of European science through the English language. The arguments were conclusive, he said, against depending on English schools alone, but wherever there was any desire for such knowledge it should be fostered.[31] After he left India, however, his views seem to have changed somewhat, for he wrote in 1832 "I conceive it is more important to impart a higher degree of education to the upper classes than to diffuse a much lower sort of it among the common people. That is also highly important: but it is not the point in which there is most deficiency at present. It will besides be much easier to make the lower orders desirous of learning to read, after a spirit of enquiry, and improvement shall have been introduced among their superiors. The most important branch of education in my opinion is that designed to prepare natives for public employment. It is important, not only from its contributing so directly to the general improvement, but also from the stimulus it affords to education among the better class of natives by connecting it with their interest. I conceive that the study of English ought to be encouraged by all means and that few things will be so effectual in enlightening the natives and bringing them nearer to us; but I have no hope that even it will

[30] Third Report of Bombay Native Education Society for 1825-26.

[31] Fisher, *op. cit.* p. 466.

be more than a learned language, or at best a language spoken among people of education, as Persian is now in some parts of India."[32] This view, while not wholly inconsistent with what he had said in 1823,[33] at any rate implies a change of accent or emphasis. In 1832 he felt perhaps that already the foundations of elementary education through the vernacular had been laid and that it was desirable to do work from the top as well as the bottom. He had welcomed the proposal to found professorships of western learning in 1827. And in 1832, it must be remembered, the controversy on this point that culminated in Macaulay's Minute was already beginning. We must also remember that as early as 1820 he had contemplated the possibility of a College for European Science at Bombay or Poona; and in 1825 he accepted a suggestion of Warden—always a supporter of the Anglicist faction of educationists—to add a branch of English studies to the Hindu College at Poona with the requisite library of books.[34] Provision was made for four students who volunteered to go to Bombay to be trained as teachers for this purpose. It does not appear however that this experiment was a success. A similar proposal had been made in 1824 to the authorities of the Bhow College for Arabic at Surat (an institution founded in 1809) but they declined it.[35]

A further illustration of Elphinstone's concern for higher education is furnished by a proposal which is of interest for the minutes it drew from him rather than its actual consequences. In March 1825 a Capt. Sutherland proposed the establishment at Poona of a College for the education of native revenue officers in those matters of land-surveying, agriculture, law and police which form the chief part of their duties: and also for the formation of a native civil service. Chaplin, Commissioner in the Deccan, to whom it was referred, gave it a rather grudging recommendation, and he was authorised

[32] Appendix to Report from Select Committee on Affairs of E. I. Company, p. 203.

[33] Cf. above p. 11 and Minute of December 1823, paras. 27-29, 63 and 65.

[34] Fisher's Memoir, p. 431.

[35] *Ibid.* p. 523.

to advertise for 24 Brahman youths to be boarded in the Engineer Institution at Bombay for preliminary training. It appears that there were some hundreds of applicants greedy for a job under Government, most of whom were totally unfit. Every one in the end was disgusted with the business. Elphinstone however expressed hearty approval of the first proposal. He had often expressed his sense of the urgent need of fitting natives for public service;[36] in one of his minutes on this subject, he wrote:[37] "If care were taken to qualify the Natives for the public service and afterwards to encourage their employment, the picture [*i.e.*, of the people of India sunk into a debased and servile condition] would soon be reversed. At no very distant day one might see the Natives engaged in superintending a portion of a district as the European assistants are now; in a more advanced stage they might sometimes be Registrars and sub-Collectors or even Collectors and judges. It may not be too visionary to suppose a period at which they might bear to the English nearly the relation which the Chinese do to the Tartars, the Europeans retaining the Government and the military power, while the natives filled a large portion of the civil stations and many of the subordinate employments in the army." In another[38], he says, that he thinks the admission of natives to a share in supreme civil offices extremely remote. But, "when the time comes, I do not think it will bring so much evil as Mr. Chaplin apprehends. The Mussalmans, without conciliating the Hindus by a perfect equality, and with the strongest motives for mutual repugnance from religious prejudices, were yet able to entrust them with the highest civil offices and sometimes with the greatest military commands." There is a story told of him by Lieut.-General Briggs that he said that to educate Indians was the high road back to Europe for the English, but that they were bound under all circumstances to do their duty to Indians.[39]

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[36] See above.

[37] Minute of April 1825. See Records, Vol. 92 (1825); also quoted by Colebrooke, Vol. II, p. 159; Cf. also p. 143.

[38] Minute of 14 September 1825. See Records, Vol. 92 (1825). Cf. Colebrooke, p. 186.

[39] See *Elphinstonian*, Vol. IV, p. 8.

Connected with these plans for higher education in European sciences are the measures he took for promoting professional education. I have spoken of the establishment early in 1824 of an Engineering School. In 1826 it had 86 students of whom 71 were Indians.[40] In 1826 was established a school for native doctors, on the model of that in Calcutta, accommodating 20 stipendiary students. The Superintendent, Dr. M'Lennan, translated various medical books into the vernacular. Arrangements were made in 1828 for educating sepoy boys as hospital assistants in regimental hospitals.[41]

The chief difficulty for educators in Elphinstone's time was the provision of suitable school books and of translating into the vernaculars books of European science. As we have seen, Elphinstone's policy was from the first directed to meet this difficulty: the work was entrusted to the Society and its publications range from alphabets through elementary arithmetics and readers, moral maxims and proverbs to translations of advanced philosophers like Locke, of histories like Grant Duff's, and the publications of books so important as Ferishta's History and Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary. Maratha types and numerous lithographic presses were supplied from time to time. Provincial and regimental schools from all over the Presidency indented on the Society for these books.

The last item of Elphinstone's work that I will mention was the provision of European teachers. When the Society's English school was started in 1824 it was placed under an artillery sergeant said to have good qualifications, and its first headmasters were of this class. European secretaries of the Society acted as superintendents or inspectors. But the need for more highly qualified and experienced teachers was soon felt and in 1825 Elphinstone at the request of the Society applied to the Court for both teachers and inspectors from Europe. It was not however till 1832 that any one arrived. Then two Scotch gentlemen, Messrs. Bell and Henderson, were posted to the Central English School, where they subsequently proved to be jealous rivals of the

[40] Fisher, *op. cit.* p. 473.

[41] Fisher, *op. cit.* p. 474.

first Elphinstone Professors when they landed in 1835. Their arrival may be said to initiate the policy which later set up an Indian Educational Service.

What then is the sum of Elphinstone's achievement with regard to education in Western India ? Let us note in the first place that he entertained no extravagant ideas of the importance of education at that time. Defending himself against such a charge, he says[42] that among the multifarious functions of his Government he put first the duty of repressing violence : next the securing a moderate and equal assessment : third the administration of justice : then perhaps the freedom of commerce : only fourth or fifth, education. He emphasises its importance only because, while so much remains undone, he is " persuaded that by it more than by any other means we promote the accomplishment of all the other objects enumerated."

Nor did he overestimate the value or effect of his own efforts. Writing to his friend Erskine in November 1826 he says : " With regard to education, I proposed in the end of 1823 a plan for the education of the natives which was perhaps too extensive. It failed from opposition in council (Warden having started a counter plan) and has met little support from the Directors. I however continue to push the subject from time to time." [43]

If we would realise the character of the work and the man we should read what his contemporaries thought of him. There are allusions in letters in the records of Elphinstone College, to say nothing of those published by Colebrooke, which prove that those who served with and under him had the highest admiration for his character and enthusiasm for the work he initiated. We must not perhaps stress too much the terms of the farewell address [44] presented in 1827 by the Princes, Chiefs and gentlemen of Bombay, since its language is obviously that of an Englishman —perhaps Captain Jervis, Secretary of the Society ; but its tone rings sincere and the personal qualities it praises are illustrated in every page of Colebrooke's *Life*. Courtesy, affability, accessi-

[42] Minute of September 14, 1825, in Secretariat Records.

[43] Colebrooke, II, p. 189.

[44] *Bombay Gazette*, 21st November 1827.

bility, freedom from prejudice, liberal, and enlightened principles: consideration at all times for the interests and welfare of the people of the country, these are the personal traits that are particularly mentioned. The general principles and policy of his administration are also specifically described: a consistent regard for ancient law and custom and a deliberate caution in changing forms of government: a sincere desire to reconcile Indians to British government and particularly to conciliate the newly acquired Deccan: a determined effort to ameliorate the condition of all classes and to improve the quality and efficiency of the civil administration: the establishment and successful maintenance of security: protection against the numerous exactions to which Indians had been liable. These are principles which I make bold to claim as permanent features of British rule in India.

When the authors of this address allude to his educational work, they pick out what we too recognise as its fundamental principles. He strove to promote the extension of a knowledge of literature, science and morality that should be real, not merely mechanical. Again and again he emphasised that such extension could only proceed from a genuine desire for improvement and learning, and that the first step was to stimulate such desire. He recognised too that the desire for learning was not likely to flourish —especially in Western India—unless the practical utility and immediate advantage of learning could be proved, and he sought to supply the inducement to learn by opening prospects of material and social advancement to be gained from it. He was, as we have seen, aware whither his educational policy must ultimately lead. To the criticism that to educate Indians was to prepare them to take the place of Englishmen as administrators and rulers of India he replied, as he did to objections on the score of expense, that he could conceive no undertaking in which the honour, duty and even the interest of Englishmen were more immediately concerned than this task of educating India.[45]

The variety of the means he employed or sought to employ are, I hope, apparent from what I have written above. His first

[45] Cf. Forrest, *op. cit.* p. 101.

consideration was the supply of the apparatus of learning, the printing and publication in the vernacular of books that could serve as school-books or convey knowledge to any zealous students. Nor did he neglect to consider the purity and style of the Marathi and Gujarati employed in such books. The nucleus of some of our present libraries was supplied by his forethought. He relied, we have seen, not merely on Government funds and officers but also on voluntary organisations, and while he refused to incur the reproach of depending for the education of Indians on the zeal of American missionaries, he showed no hostility to missionary effort. The improvement of methods of teaching, the training of teachers and the superintendence or inspection of schools were the instruments he mainly relied on for educational progress. The most practically useful of all branches of professional education, the medical and engineering, were initiated under his rule. Circumstances as well as logic had combined to make him base his educational system on the use of the vernacular and the maintenance of oriental learning, but he attached the greatest importance to the introduction of European Science and the teaching of English. And that is why he derived so much pleasure from the proposal to commemorate his administration by the foundation of three Elphinstone Professorships of Literature, Mathematics and Chemistry. For it was from the influence of western learning and western morality that he believed the regeneration of India must ultimately come. "Hoc potius mille signis", "This rather than a thousand statues," he is said to have replied when told of this addition to the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence and the statue by Sir Francis Chantry by which he was to be commemorated.[46]

And indeed the truest memorials of Mounstuart Elphinstone's educational work are the Elphinstone College, the Elphinstone High School and a Teachers' Training College that still carries on its work within the walls of an Elphinstonian Institution.

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[46] Colebrooke, II, p. 200.

THE SERPENT SACRIFICE MENTIONED IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

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[Translated from the original German* by N. B. Utgikar.]

[1] Of all the Countries of the earth, India abounds most in serpents. With this abundance of serpents, agrees also the importance which the serpent has occupied in the Mythology and Worship of the Indians from the most ancient times to the present day. And nothing is more significant of the importance of this creature in Indian Myth than that a whole conglomeration of serpent-stories was added on as an introduction to the great epic, the Mahābhārata, and that according to this introduction that epic itself with its hundred thousand verses had been recited at a so-called "Serpent Sacrifice."

Our Mahābhārata begins thus:—Ugraśravas Sauti[1] comes to the twelve-year sacrificial ceremony of Śaunaka, and being questioned by the priests, replies that he has heard the Mahābhārata history, composed by Vyāsa and recited by Vaiśampāyana in the serpent sacrifice of king Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit.[2] Then is the history of this "serpent sacrifice" narrated, though in a much confused manner—the confusion is evidently caused by

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[* From "Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt" (Verein für Volkskunde und Linguistik, Prag), 1905; Separate Reprint, pp. 1-13.]

[1] [Note not translated here. It indicates how Indian names are to be pronounced.—N. B. U.]

[2] Parikṣit is the grandson of Arjuna, one of the chief heroes of the Mahābhārata.

repeated interpolations.[3] What however is called sarpasattra, "serpent sacrifice" in the Mahābhārata, is in reality not quite a sacrifice, but a magic spell, by means of which the serpents may be brought to self-annihilation. Indeed, a clear distinction between "magic" and "sacrifice" is as little possible in India as elsewhere. The Indians understand by "sattra"—the word originally means a "session"—a sacrificial ceremony which [2] lasted for more than twelve days and in which was required a body of participating priests. These formed a sort of brotherhood. A person was consecrated for the sacrifice by the others in a most ceremonious manner; and all had to take part in the individual ceremonies of the sacrifice. During the continuance of a sattra—and many of these extended over a year, many however, over a number of years—all other sacrifices which it was incumbent on a householder to perform, were held over, and those who participated therein took upon themselves a strict vow of abstinence. Communication with the caste, intercourse with women and non-Aryans, outbursts of passion, speaking of falsehood and so on were forbidden. These sattras of which the ritualistic works give us an account, are in no way, as is often supposed, pure inventions of theory-mongers dealing with sacrifice—though *many* of the sacrifices certainly existed only in theory—, but have come down to us from pre-historic popular magic-customs and cult-practices. This is for instance proved by the popular practices to be observed on one of the days of the Mahāvrata sacrifice, this being one of the sattras lasting for a year; these practices remind us of our [*i.e.* the Christian] solstitial festivities. Such sacrificial ceremonies were instituted when one bore some such particular desires as for instance to have progeny, wealth and so forth.[4] Now, the

[3] I completely agree with A. Ludwig ("Ulber den Anfang des Mahābhārata, Ādiparva I—CVIII." *Sitzungsb. d. k. boehm. Ges. d. Wiss.* Prag, 1899, p. 1) that in the preface to the Mahābhārata "much has been interpolated—gradually one piece has been added on to the other." Partly however this confusion is to be attributed to the unfortunate condition of our text, of which indeed there is no critical edition as yet. I have proved (*Indian Antiquary*, 1898, pp. 126 ff.) that many of the difficulties in our edition can be removed with the help of the Southern manuscripts of the Mahābhārata.

[4] Compare A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Literatur. Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (Grund. der indo-arischen Phil. III. 2, Strassburg, 1897) pp. 154f., 157.

ritual books mention among other sattras of a year's duration, a *sarpasattra*,[5] though unfortunately no further details are given concerning that. Still from the fact of its being mentioned we might conclude that there was in Ancient India a particular sacrificial ceremony, the object of which was to expel the ever real danger of snakes. As a reminder of a sacrificial ceremony of this kind, we have to understand the story of the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya, which could still have, for all that, a mythological back-ground.

The destruction of the serpents was therefore the purpose of the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya. There are therefore different stories narrated in our present introduction to the Mahābhārata, which would explain (1) why Janamejaya [3] had to institute such a sacrifice, (2) for what offence should so many serpents meet death, and (3) how it happens that in spite of this all, not all serpents are vanquished. These antecedents of the serpent sacrifice do not in any way stand in harmony with one another, and are probably only inserted in the epic later, like the story of the serpent sacrifice itself, and not all of them at one and the same time. This does not however imply by any means that the parts (of the story)

[5] Sāṁkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XIII. 23.8; Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XXI. 4.48. Very remarkable is the sarpasattra mentioned in the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, XXV. 15; it is here described as being a sacrifice offered by the serpents. There it is said: "By means of this sacrificial ceremony, the serpents have come to hold a firm foot in this world. Those who hold this sacrificial ceremony come to hold a firm foot in this world." After this there are mentioned the names of those persons and priests who performed this sacrifice; and among these there are the names of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Airāvata and Takṣaka, these being very often met as the names of serpent demons, and in a remarkable manner, of Janamejaya also. In the end it is said:—"By means of this sacrifice, the serpents have in former times conquered death. They who undergo this sacrificial ceremony conquer death. Therefore they cast off their old skin, and after they have cast it off, they glide thereafter (into a new one). The serpents—for "Sarpyo" we have probably to read "Sarppā"—are Ādityas (*i.e.*, the sons of the Sun or immortal deities); like unto the glamour of the Ādityas is the glamour of those who perform this sacrifice." Philo also says that the serpents were admitted into the cult since they are immortal, because they throw off oldage with their skins (J. Maehly, *Die Schlange in Mythus und Kultus der klassischen Voelker*, Basel, 1867, pp. 7, 10).

are all of recent origin. Far from that.—The story of the serpent sacrifice as also the stories connected therewith stand indeed very near to the Vedic literature, both in language and in contents. Janamejaya himself is to be met with already in the Veda as a famous sacrificer, and the whole of the prose chapter of the Pauṣya-parvan (Mbh. I. 3) reminds one of the prose of the Brāhmaṇas. I therefore hold it as very probable that many of the stories which have been here briefly summarized, and which presumably were interpolated in the epic only later, originally existed in Vedic texts, which have been lost to us.

In order to justify why Janamejaya had to institute the serpent sacrifice, the history of Uttaṅka is first narrated (Mbh. I. 3. 95-169). This story is interwoven with a cycle of stories, the heroes of which are extraordinarily true and devout students, who sacrifice themselves for their preceptors. One of such students is Uttaṅka. Inasmuch as the wife of his preceptor has a desire to have within four days the earrings of the queen of king Pauṣya, he starts forth on the journey, and after various adventures reaches the king's palace. The queen delivers over her earrings to this pious person quite willingly, but warns him to be on guard since Takṣaka, the king of the serpents, bore a great desire to have those earrings. As a matter of fact, Takṣaka, who takes the form of a naked ascetic, succeeds in snatching away the earrings from Uttaṅka on the return journey.[6] Uttaṅka follows the robber;

[6] Regarding the close connection between the serpents and precious stones, compare my article on the Sarpabali (*Mitteilungen der anthropolog. Ges. in Wien*, vol. XVIII, 1888), pp.3 f. That the serpents have a special liking for articles of jewelry too is a known characteristic of stories. In the Pañcatantra there is to be found the story of a serpent that kills the young ones of a crow. The latter then steals a set of jewels, and places it before the serpent's hole, wherefore men regard a serpent as a thief of jewels and kill it. (Similarly in Anvar-i-Suhaili, trans. by E. B. Eastwick, pp. 116-120). Benfey considers (Pañcatantra I, 167ff.) this to have a relation with the fable of the "Robber Magpie" because the idea that the serpent is made to be the thief of the set of jewels appears to him to be much too "refined." If however, we bear in mind (the story of) Takṣaka and the earrings as also the numerous stories of serpents guarding treasures, or bestowing precious stones, etc., the laying of the jewels in front of a serpent's hole in the Pañcatantra has nothing extraordinary about it.

the latter however assumes his serpent-form, and disappears through a hole in the subterranean world. With the help of god Indra, Uttaṅka goes down to the serpent-world, and compels Takṣaka to give back to him the stolen earrings. Then he repairs to his teacher, and comes to hand over the earrings to the lady quite within time before [4] the four days have elapsed. After he receives the blessings of his preceptor, he resolves to avenge himself on Takṣaka. For this purpose he betakes himself to king Janamejaya, tells him that the wicked serpent-demon Takṣaka had killed his (Janamejaya's) father and incites him to institute a serpent sacrifice and thus to burn off Takṣaka. Janamejaya is very much enraged against Takṣaka, and he asks his counsellors to narrate to him the account of his father's death.

The Mahābhārata however does not narrate that account at this place; but it comes after a second introduction to the epic, *viz.*, the story of Ruru (Mbh. I. 8-12). This person is in love with an extraordinarily beautiful daughter of an Apsaras (nymph). On the day however on which he was to marry his beloved, she was bitten by a serpent. In vain do the ascetics and the Brahmins exert themselves to restore to life the beautiful maid. Weeping and crying, Ruru betakes himself to the woods. There a heavenly messenger appears and tells him that his bride would be restored to life if he were to give to her half of his life. Ruru is willing to do this and Dharma the god of death gives back life to the maiden. Ruru marries her but vows to destroy all serpents. From that time onward wherever he saw any serpents, he put them to death. One day however he comes across a so-called Dundubha serpent. This serpent asks him to show mercy to him, because one should not put to death the Dundubhas, which belong only in name to the serpent (class). Ruru spares the Dundubha, who tells him that he was a holy person (Ṛṣi), although spell-bound as the result of a curse. On account of his meeting with Ruru, he is set free from the curse, puts on his original form, and holds a discourse on showing mercy to all living beings. Arising out of this, he says to Ruru that he would narrate to him the story of the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya and of the saving of the serpents by Āstīka. In

our epic, however, he does not narrate that story, but, to the great sorrow of Ruru, vanishes without a trace.

The next chapter begins—as though there had been no mention whatsoever of Ruru, and certainly, the story of Ruru is a very late interpolation—with the question of Śaunaka who wishes to hear a true account of the serpent sacrifice and the history of the saving of the serpents by Āstīka.

There now follows a conglomeration of stories, all of which seem to serve as an introduction to the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya; and probably it is no easy matter to unravel this tangle. Were we to set aside the repetitions, which are to be attributed to the corrupt condition of our text, we could still follow clearly the threads of three stories in this labyrinth. They are the stories (1 of Kadrū and Vinatā, and the cursing of the serpents; (2) of Parikṣit; and (3) that of Jaratkāru, and the birth of Āstīka. In the course of the first story there has been added on a whole cycle of legends which connect themselves with the bird Garuḍa, the enemy of the serpents, and are probably derived from an older Garuḍa Purāṇa.

[5] The substance of the first story (Mbh. I. 16-38) is as follows :—

Kadrū[7] and Vinatā are the daughters of Prajāpati, and wives of Kaśyapa. Kadrū is the mother of a thousand serpents, and Vinatā is the mother of the prematurely born Aruṇa, the charioteer of the Sun, and of the prodigious bird Garuḍa. One day the two sisters see the heavenly horse Uccaiśravas (the lofty-eared)

[7] That Kadrū ("red brown"), the mother of the serpents, means the Earth, can scarcely be doubted. The Earth is called in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (V. 23) Sarparājñī "queen of the Serpents." The serpents were regarded as the "offspring of the earth" among the Greeks, the Lithuanians and the Esthonians. (Compare my Sarpabali, pp. 3, 7 and 30). Vinatā ("bent down") is called Suparṇī ("the fair-winged one") in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 62, where there is to be found an older form of the story, though unfortunately it is retouched from the priestly point of view. She is possibly the canopy of heaven, regarded as the mother of birds and of the Sun-bird Garuḍa in particular. Compare the mythological explanation of the myth by A. Ludwig, "Nachrichten des Rig-und Atharva-veda," etc. (*Abh. d. k. boehm. Ges. d. Wiss.* Prag. 1875, pp. 34 f.)

and they enter on a dispute over the colour of this horse. Vinatā says that it was white, Kadrū asserts that it was black. They lay a wager that whosoever lost it should serve the other as slave. Kadrū asks her children, the serpents, to transform themselves into black hair, and to cover up the tail of the horse. The serpents refuse to do this, and Kadrū pronounces on them the curse that they would all perish in the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya. As the created beings have to suffer much from the serpents, the Creator Brahman confirms this curse. One part of the serpents however executes the command of Kadrū and changes itself into black hair. In consequence of this, the tail of Uccaiśravas appears black, and Kadrū wins the wager. Vinatā is obliged to serve her sister as slave, and Garuḍa the son of Vinatā becomes a servant of the serpents until at last he succeeds in setting himself and his mother free from the servitude, by means of the theft of the drink conferring immortality (amṛta), which he brings from the heaven for the serpents. By an arrangement with Indra, the serpents were however baulked with the result that the immortal drink is of no avail to them. They simply lick the holy grass on which Garuḍa lays down the drink and thereby have bisected tongues. In return for the deceit, Indra confers on Garuḍa sway over the serpents.[8] Of the numerous other legends that are narrated of the bird Garuḍa, none is to be found here. A version of the legend of Kadrū and Vinatā is to be also found in the miscellany of stories, the Kathāsaritsāgara (iv. 22) of Somadeva, where the two ladies quarrel about the colour of the horses of the Sun, and Kadrū asks her children the serpents to blacken the horses of the Sun and so they spit their poison on them. [6] The account of the theft of the immortal drink and other stories of the bird Garuḍa are in this version as well, immediately added on to the Kadrū-Vinatā story.

The immortal drink had been won at the time of the churning of the ocean. On this occasion, Vāsuki the king of the serpents

[8] The enmity between Garuḍa and the serpents reminds one of the contest between the Eagle and the serpents mentioned by the Greek poets and artists (Otto Keller, *Tiere des klassichen Altertums*, Innsbruck, 1867, pp. 247 ff). Perhaps an older myth about the contest of the Sun-bird with the cloud-serpents is at the basis of both the conceptions.

had done good service to the gods, inasmuch as he had allowed himself to be twirled round as the rope of the Mandara mountain, which served as the churning rod. In return for that, the god Brahman reduced the curse pronounced by Kadrū with the modification that *not all* serpents would be destroyed, but that Āstīka would be born as the nephew of the serpent king for the purpose of bringing to a close the sacrifice of Janamejaya.

The story of the birth of Āstīka is mentioned twice in our Mahābhārata (I. 13-15; 45-48). Jaratkāru was a famous ascetic who took severe vows and lived a pure life. In his wanderings to the holy places of pilgrimage, he once saw his ancestors, hanging in a hole with their heads downwards. They poured out to him their distress, for which he himself was to be blamed inasmuch as he did not care for the continuance of their family. Thereupon Jaratkāru promises to marry, if only he could find a bride possessing the same name as he himself did. The sister of the serpent-king Vāsuki was also named Jaratkāru, and Vāsuki, grateful for the boon of Brahman, according to which the son of his sister would liberate the serpents, gives her joyfully as wife to the great sage. Jaratkāru has a son by her, and soon thereafter leaves his wife in order to devote himself once more to a holy life. The son, named Āstīka, is brought up at Vāsuki's court in the kingdom of serpents, and is taught Veda by the famous seer Cyavana of Bhṛgu's line, and even as a child, had the reputation of a great wise man and ascetic.

The story of Parikṣit (Mbh. I. 40-42; 49-50), which is narrated in India even at the present time as a popular story[9], is shortly

[9] M. N. Venketswami has recorded the following story from the mouths of the people ("Folklore in the Central Provinces of India," *Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII, 1899, pp. 193f). A very brave prince tied a dead serpent round the neck of a pious ascetic. The ascetic cursed the prince that he would be bitten by a serpent. The domestic priest of the king informed him of what threatened his son (the prince). The king had then the palace cleansed and made new, and took all precautions possible, so that not a single serpent might enter the palace. The news spread itself over the whole kingdom, and a woman sends her son who is a skilled magician to the king that he might cure the prince immediately if he was bitten. The magician meets on the way the serpent which was to bite the prince, in the form of an

as follows :—This famous [7] king of the Kuru line once followed, while hunting, a deer. He came across a pious ascetic and asked him whether he had seen the animal that he was following. This sage who practised the vow of silence, answered not, whereat the exhausted and thirsty king was so much annoyed that he bound a dead serpent round the sage's neck. The sage does not bother himself any further with it, but his son, the irascible ascetic Śṛṅgin pronounces on Parikṣit the curse that he would be bitten within seven days by the serpent Takṣaka. This causes great sorrow to the gentle-natured father, and in order to forewarn Parikṣit, who is already ruing his frivolity, sends him a messenger. The king undergoes penetential practices and takes counsel with his ministers. At their advice, a palace is constructed and diligently guarded by day and night, so that none should approach the king, uncalled for. Brahmins well-versed in magic formulæ and physicians are in attendance at the palace. The magician Kāśyapa[10] too,

old man. The magician proves his strength to the serpent—as in the Mahābhārata—by completely restoring to bloom a tree burnt down by the serpent. Upon this the serpent says to him that he (the man) should return, since an ascetic had cursed the prince, and it was not possible to render the curse powerless. Then the magician returns home, where he is cursed by his mother because he did not accomplish her desire. In consequence of this curse, only a few serpent bites can be cured at the present day, most of them however cannot. Shortly after that, an old priest goes to the prince. On the way, he sees a fresh citron, takes it up and goes with it to the palace. The prince sees the citron and asks for it. The priest gives it to him, and the prince smells it, whereupon the lemon transforms itself into a serpent, which remains hanging by its long tail to the prince's nose, and sucks out the life-blood of the prince. Thus was the curse of the ascetic fulfilled. According to the folklore of the Panjab, Parikṣit was killed by Takṣaka, because Parikṣit had carried away a daughter of Vāsuki (*JRAS.* 1891, 377).

[10] Kāśyapa, *i.e.*, one belonging to the family of Kaśyapa, is a very frequent name of a serpent-magician. Even in the Atharvaveda, Kāśyapa is the name of a famous magician (Atharvaveda II. 32. 7 ; IV. 20. 7 ; IV. 37. 1 ; VII. 45.4; VIII. 5. 14. Compare Bloomfield, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 42, p. 403). Besides this, Kāśyapa is, according to the Mahābhārata, the father of the serpents. In the story of the origin of Kāśmir too, the Muni Kāśyapa appears as the father of all the Nāgas (Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, trans. by M. A. Stein, London, 1900, vol. II, p. 389). Kāśyapa is also regarded as a Prajāpati or creator, and in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 3, the serpents are called the offspring of Prajāpati.

to whom God Brahman had gifted a remedy against serpent-poison, heard of the impending fate of Janamejaya and hastens to rescue the king. Takṣaka, assuming the form of a Brahmin, meets him. Kāśyapa narrates to him the purpose of his journey. Takṣaka expresses a doubt if the magician would be of any use in rescuing the king. Kāśyapa however shows him a test of his art. The serpent-demon bites a tree and it is burnt to ashes, but Kāśyapa restores the tree to life by strength of his magic. Thereupon Takṣaka promises to give him as much wealth as the king would have given him for his healing, at which Kāśyapa returns. Takṣaka now sends to the king some of his subordinate serpents, who have transformed themselves into ascetics, with fruit, holy grass and water. The serpent-demon makes his way in one of the fruits in the form of a worm and bites the king to death. The counsellors of the king fly away before the frightful roaring of Takṣaka, and the king falls down there as though struck by lightning, while Takṣaka himself passes out through the air as blue smoke. The king is suitably cremated and his son Janamejaya is put on the throne.

When Janamejaya learnt from his advisers the story of the death of his father, he forthwith resolved to take revenge on Takṣaka and [8] thus also simultaneously to satisfy the sage Uttaṅka. And he decides to institute a serpent sacrifice. He summons to him his family and sacrificial priests and asks them what he must do to burn Takṣaka and his relations just as he (*i.e.* Takṣaka) had burnt his father in the fire of his poison. Then the priests speak to him: "There is, O king, a great sacrifice, which has been created by the gods for thy sake; it is called sarpa-sattra, and it has been spoken of in the Purāṇas. No one else but thee shall perform this sacrifice, O king! Thus have those versed in the Purāṇas said, and on us lies the work of performing the sacrifice." Then the king caused all the arrangements for a great sacrifice to be made; he had a good place measured out where the sacrifice was to be performed, and this he caused to be stored with wealth and corn; here the priests took up their places. After this the king was consecrated for the serpent sacrifice.

"Then began the performance of the sacrifice in the manner prescribed for the serpent sacrifice. Hither and thither moved the priests, each according to his prescribed work. Covered in black clothes,[11] with their eyes reddened by smoke, they offered oblations into the kindled fire, uttering mantras. Shattering the hearts of all the serpents, they summoned them all to the flames of the fire. Then did the serpents come near the kindled fire, writhing painfully and crying to each other. Shaking and sighing, and encoiling with one another, they fell in the fire with their tails and heads. White, black, and blue (serpents), old and young, they all fell in the fire, shrieking diverse sounds. They all—some of them a fathom long, some a yojana long, and some of the length of a span (original: gokarṇa), all fell violently and ceaselessly in the fire. Thus hundreds of thousands and millions and billions of serpents perished there helplessly. Many of the serpents were as big as horses, others like the trunks of elephants; some like infatuated elephants themselves, of mighty dimensions and strength. High and low, of diverse colours, stuffed with poison, dreadful, bludgeon-like, powerful, many serpents fell in the fire—condemned by the curse of their mother." (Mbh. I. 52).

Famous seers became the sacrificial priests, and numerous learned Brahmins the participators in the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya. When the priests poured the sacrificial ghee into the flames, the vipers stumbled forth in the fire. The fat and marrow of the serpents began to run in streams. Stench and cries of lamentation filled the air. Takṣaka flees in great distress to god Indra, who promises him protection. In the meanwhile, the serpent king Vāsuki tries to induce his young nephew Āstīka to put an end to the serpent sacrifice. Āstīka betakes himself to the place where the sacrifice was going on, and begins to sing a hymn in praise of Janamejaya, in which [9] he narrates the numerous sac-

11 As a rule, the priests wear white clothes: only in those sacrifices which are directed against enemies, they have a red turban and red clothes (Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, I. 6. 13. 9, and Govinda on Baudhāyana, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIV, pp. 186f.) Perhaps we have to understand the dark skin of the antilope, which is indeed mentioned in the ritual of the sacrificial consecration, though servicable only as a seat.

rifices performed by famous kings, all of which are surpassed by the sacrifice of Janamejaya. Janamejaya is extremely pleased with the sagacity of the youth Āstīka and asks him to choose a boon. The priests however remind the king that Takṣaka was not still burnt. Thereupon the king urges on the priests so to exert that Takṣaka would appear there; and they carry on the sacrifice with such zeal that Indra himself with his heavenly train is forced to appear. Takṣaka is hidden in the mantle of Indra. The king however calls upon the priests to go on with the sacrifice, and if the serpent-demon was being harboured by Indra, to hurl the former into the fire along with (Indra) the king of gods. Distress overcomes Indra, and he throws off Takṣaka and flees back to his heaven. Takṣaka however appears in the air, and slowly comes nearer and nearer the fire. Now the priests cried that the sacrifice was as good as ended, and that the king could therefore with a tranquil heart bestow a boon on Āstīka. Then spoke Āstīka, while Takṣaka was still floating in the air and was slowly approaching the fire with terrifying yells, that the dreadful sacrifice should be brought to an end. This desire of his must be granted, and the serpent sacrifice is closed with the giving of costly presents to the priests and to those who participated in that sacrifice. The serpents whose life is saved by Āstīka confer a boon on him out of gratitude, and Āstīka desires that those persons who would hear the story of the deliverance of the serpents should have no fear from the serpents. This wish of his is granted, and the devout mention of the name Āstīka, as also the recital of the Āstīka-parvan of the Mahābhārata, is prescribed for all times as a serpent charm, *i.e.*, as a remedy against the danger of serpents.

There can be no doubt that in this so-called "serpent sacrifice" there is more of a magic spell than of a sacrifice proper. It is a magic spell of the kind which can be met with as a survival in the legends of other people too. It was A. Ludwig[12] who first drew attention to the fact that such stories of serpent sacrifice are to be found elsewhere also, for instance in Tyrol. As a matter of fact these Tyrol stories present quite a striking parallel to the

[12] *Ueber den Anfang des Mahābhārata*, p. 5.

Indian legend of Janamejaya's serpent sacrifice. One of such legends runs as follows:—

There haunted some eight years ago in the Stadlbach Alps noxious serpents which terribly molested the cows. Then an old man (from Brandenburg) constructed an oven, and made in it a big fire, with particularly mysterious words and gesticulations. Into this oven all the serpents, at his command, crawled of their own accord and burnt themselves. Even to this day, one can see clinging to the decayed remnants of this oven the "green poison" of the serpents.[13]

Many of these Tyrol legends end with the statement that finally a white serpent appears and draws the magician along with himself into the flames. [10] Thus Marie Rehsener narrates the following story from Grossensass. In Grastein, there were so many serpents (lit. biting worms) that neither man nor cattle could tolerate it. A man that was passing by the road said: "I could certainly help you against the serpents—*i.e.* if there be no white serpent among them." Such a one had been seen, but the fact was concealed from that man. The man made a big round hole, fixed a column therein, and stood near; then he whistled to the serpents, and they all came thither and in the hole, in which he burnt them. Then was heard a roar as of a lion, and he saw a white serpent coming over the fern. "I am now undone," cried the man. The serpent came, and dragged the man in such a way that he too perished in the fire.[14]

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[13] Eduard Ille, *Zeitschrift d. Vereins für Volkskunde*, VIII, 1898, p. 325.

[14] *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, IV, 1894, p. 122. It is an oft recurring trait of the stories that the magician charms the serpents into the hole by means of his whistles. Corresponding to the story of the "Rat-catchers of Hameln," Gustav Meyer narrates (*Essays und Studien*, 1885, pp. 237f): "In Walsertal, there once appeared many vipers: then a small hillsman made a fire, blew a shrill whistle, and in an instant, the vipers flocked into the fire." A Bohemian story tells of a serpent-charmer, who lived in the neighbourhood of the village of Duschnik and had power over the serpents. "When he was dying, he took out a whistling pipe, concealed under his pillow, and whistled thrice. Then he uttered the following words: "Mother of the serpents, follow me! Then follow thee thy daughters. Then follow them thy whole family. And thus do I do right to the Lord." Soon there was noticed a hissing all over the district, and since that time no

The following story of the "white reptile" reminds us with special force of the Indian story. "In upper Eisaktal, there was nothing safe in the central forests of the Alpine pasture. No one could move about, as the Alpine pasture was full of poisonous reptiles; these were thick and long like the hay-poles. One day there came there an old and strange manikin, and when he heard of the wicked reptiles he offered to extirpate them for a vast amount of money; only that they were to set up for him a big stack of wood in the Alpine pasture. If, however, among the reptiles, there be any white serpent, he could do nothing: this they should kindly say beforehand quickly. None however had seen a white serpent. The man therefore started, and many village people too behind him. When the [11] pile of timber was fully aflame, the man began exorcising (the serpents). The pasture presented a living appearance, roaring shrieks arose from amid the parched grass, gruesome hisses sounded, and the serpents shot into the fire, as though flying through the air. They writhed with anger round and round in the flames, till they were killed (in the fire). Now there was heard there from beyond a yoke a terrific hissing, entirely different from that of the rest of the serpents, and there rushed in there, storm-like, a white snake, terrible in form and dimensions, and it rushed towards the conjurer; and when this latter tumbled with great fright towards the fire with the exclamation 'I am done for', the snake coiled him round into the flames and was burnt to death. The wicked race of serpents was now stamped out,

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one there ever came across a serpent. (J. V. Grohimann, *Sagenbuch von Boehmen und Machren*, Prag, 1863, I, p. 217). Schönbach narrates the following serpent-charm from a MS. of the sixteenth century (*Analecta Graeciensia*, ... 1893, p. 38): "If thou wouldst catch serpents without trouble, then kill a cat which has paired, and out of its right leg, make a whistling pipe. With that you have only to blow a whistle, and then all serpents gather together. Before this, one has to make a magic circle, write magic words in that; he has to press two or three bright leaves and besmear his hands with the juice. Then one has to conjure the serpents in the name of God, Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, that they should be submissive, as all things are submissive to the Sun, as the earth is submissive to the fire, and as the fire is submissive to the water."

since the white serpent was the last of the serpent species, but the conjurer had lost his life."[15]

Such stories are however in no way confined to Tyrol and the Alpine lands. Feilberg narrates of Denmark. In a certain district—it was specially so in Fjends Harde—the people were sorely plagued by all kinds of serpents. One day there came a beggar who offered to liberate them from the lime serpents, provided the people could exactly tell him how many they (*i.e.* the serpents) were. The reply was vouchsafed "There are nine of them." The mendicant kindled a big fire, and crawling came the snakes, one after the other, and were compelled into the fire. Now however a tenth (serpent) came after the nine, and the mendicant was himself compelled to spring into the fire, and hither followed him the last (tenth) serpent.[16]

[15] Joh. Adolf Hegl, *Volkssagen aus Tirol*, Brixen, 1897, pp. 156f. Quite similar to this is the story from Eggental, *ibid.* p. 378, and the story in F. J Vonbun, *Die Sagen Vorarlbergs*, second edition, Innsbruck, 1889, pp. 179f. In the story of the "Serpents in Lechtal," the magician is a Capuchin monk, and in the story of the serpents in Wurmtal, the white serpent wears a golden crown, and is the king of serpents. Hegl, *l. c.* p. 29. Only in the story of Seiseralm, the "man" was cautious and formed round the pile of wood a ring with consecrated objects. "The white serpent which came last grew fearfully wild, but it could not lay hold of its charmer, who had placed himself on a consecrated object, and there was no alternative for the serpent but to spring similarly into the fire." (*Ibid.* p. 377). "In Salzburg, a magician rendered himself famous by saying that he would gather together in a hole all the serpents that were in that locality within a mile's distance, and would kill them. When however, he tried to do so, there came last of all a great old serpent, crawling, and, when the magician tried with his magic words to force him into the fire, it bounded up and encoiled him in such a manner that it (the serpent) appeared like a belt about his body, and then it glided into the hole and killed him."

[16] *Zeitschrift des Vereines für Volkskunde*, IV, 1894, pp. 379f. In the Sicilian stories of "Giovannino und Caterina (Gonzenbach, *Sizilianische Märchen*, I, 214 ff.) it was demanded of Giovannino that he should make a baker's oven from a big fire and that at his command, all the fishes of the sea should come there and should destroy themselves in the fire. His sister also who had been transformed by magic-power into a sea-serpent comes in the shoal of fish, this being certainly a proof that in the story, fish have been only put in place of serpents. In another story from Sicily (Gonzenbach I, 293ff.) the son of a queen is turned into a ringed serpent. During the night he throws off

[12] Sir Vincent Eyre witnessed in May 1869 at Luchon in the Pyrennes an extremely remarkable ceremony—one that reminds of the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya. On the evening preceding the mid-summer day, a hollow column of plaited work is set up, sixty feet high, decorated with green leaves and plants and filled with inflammable material. At eight o'clock in the evening there arrives there a great procession from the city—clergymen at the head, young men and women in festive garments behind them, and it halts around the column singing hymns. Thereafter the column is set on fire, and very many living serpents—one could easily catch them—are thrown into the fire, and to the noisy merriment of the assemblage, are burnt, while the young and the elderly persons are dancing round the column.[17]

The serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya has been sought to be explained in various ways. According to H. Jacobi, in it we have to recognise an event in Indian History, *viz.*, the advance of the Indians in Hindustan proper. Here they came to learn of a new natural phenomenon, *viz.*, the monsoon in all its greatness. In the Panjab, there is no monsoon, but only thunderstorms during the greater part of the year. When the Indians on their onward march towards Eastern and Southern India came to such provinces, where the sky during the rainy period pours down all its waters, where therefore, speaking mythologically, all the serpents are for once destroyed, well did their fantasy then conceive of the myth of the serpent sacrifice, in which *all* the serpents shall come to naught.[18] Ludwig sees in the Indian serpent sacrifice[19] a myth of the rotation of the year's seasons, while in the Tyrol myths, by the white serpent may be intended the snow, and the rest of the serpents

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the serpent's skin, and becomes a fine youth. In order to disenchant him fire is kept burning in a lime kiln for three days and three nights, and when he throws off the serpent's skin, he is wrapped up closely in a fine garment and the skin is burnt in the lime-kiln, but the youth has to be held fast, lest he might throw himself too in the fire.

[17] "This is a favourite annual ceremony for the inhabitants of Luchon and its neighbourhood, and local tradition assigns to it heathen origin." (J. Fergusson, *Tree and serpent Worship*, London, 1873², p. 29 note).

[18] *Indische Studien*, XIV, p. 149 note.

[19] *Ueber den Anfang des Mahābhārata*. p. 5.

may mean the waters of the rain. C. F. Oldham[20] who regards the serpent-demons or the Nāgas as being only a tribe of people, holds that the legend of the serpent sacrifice is a reminiscence of the victory of Janamejaya over some Nāga tribe and of the somewhat violent extermination of the Nāga captives of war.[21] J. J. Bachofen also considers the stories of Āstīka and the serpent sacrifice as the reminiscence of a historical fight with a "serpent" people and of the annihilation of the "serpent" tribe by Janamejaya; he also finds in these legends support for his matriarchial theories as well.[22]

I believe that the extra-Indian parallels to the serpent sacrifice mentioned in the Mahābhārata are so striking that it would not be proper [13] to see in them merely accidental resemblances. If however the resemblance is not accidental, then there are only two possibilities: either we have (in this case) to deal with a myth which reaches back to the Indo-Germanic pre-historic times, or that there are stories and ideas which have spontaneously arisen here as well as there from the same psychological motive. In both cases however—and this appears to me to be a methodologically important conclusion—all these stories, whether we come across them in India or anywhere else, must be explained in a same way. What however they all generally agree in is that the serpents are constrained, by the power of the magicians, to hurl themselves in the flames. The primary thing is the fear of the serpents; the extirpation of the serpents has become the motive of a magnified magic process, in which—as in Luchon—even living serpents are thrown into the fire.[23] The reminiscence of such pri-

[20] *JRAS.* 1891, pp. 378 f.

[21] Thus Fergusson also would see in the Midsummer custom of Luchon (mentioned in footnote 15 above) "a reminiscence of a victory over the serpent worshippers."

[22] J. J. Bachofen, *Antiquarische Briefe*, Strassburg, 1880, Letters IV-IX. The fantastic theories of Bachofen are carried to an absurd point by B. W. Leist (*Altarisches Jus Gentium*, Jena, 1889, pp. 589 ff.)

[23] The serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya has been expressly designated as a sacrifice taught in the Purāṇas, and a Sūta well-versed in the Purāṇas (and not a Brahmin sacrificing priest) marks out the sacrificial ground (Mbh. I. 51. 6f., 15). From this also we find that we have not in this case (*viz.* of the serpent sacrifice) to deal with a Vedic sacrifice, but with a popular magic practice.

meval magic practices has preserved itself in the legends where, by exaggerating the power of the magician, the serpents as such are represented as hurling themselves in the magic fire. The possibility, nay the probability, that, after all, there may be some mythological conception at the root of all these stories, cannot be disputed. That in mythology, the serpents sometimes signify clouds, sometime rivers or lightning, stands beyond all doubt. I do not however see that up to now it would be possible to give a satisfactory mythological explanation of the stories dealing with serpent sacrifices.

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IS ĀYURVEDA A QUACKERY ?

A PAPER READ BY

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Āyurveda, *i.e.*, the Old Indian Medical System, is a fascinating and pleasing study. Two reasons have prompted me to get myself acquainted with the subject.

(1) The first is, that oft-repeated charge by some people that Indian Medicine is a quackery.

(2) My curiosity as a dental surgeon to find out if Dentistry in any form ever existed in India.

As Dentistry forms a part of medical system, I had naturally to look into the Indian Medical books ; and to my agreeable surprise I found that, not only was the Indian Medicine not a quackery, but that it flourished at one time in as good a condition as the present day Western Medicine ; and that Dentistry which is known to the Western countries only for the last 75—100 years, was well understood and practised by the old Hindu doctors of thousands of years ago.

I don't presume to have found out anything original and worth telling to an audience of scientific men, but I do think I know enough to tell a lay audience like to-day's that Indian Medicine is by no means a quackery as is alleged by some men.

ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN MEDICINE.

Indian Medicine is a very very old science, so old that it is mentioned in the poetry of Vedic age, *i.e.*, several thousand years ago. Like many Western nations, Hindus also consider the science of medicine to be of Divine origin, and so one has to look into their religious scriptures for the medical literature. This literature we find in their religious books called Vedas, and the part that deals with medicine is called Āyurveda, *i.e.*, science of life. The science of medicine is supposed to be so sacred that once upon a time it was practised by gods only. By gods I presume they mean some good and

great men, who rendered some meritorious services to their fellowmen. It was a custom among the ancient people of all nationalities to deify such good men. Then in the beginning of Kaliyuga or Kaljug (18th February 3102 B. C.), the fourth and the last cycle of time, when according to the Hindus, men became very prone to diseases, gods took pity on them, and taught this science of medicine to a few men. Amongst these few men were the two famous doctors Caraka and Suśruta whose books are now supposed to be the standard medical works for the Old Indian Medicine.

History of Āyurveda.

Āyurveda, *i.e.*, the Old Indian Medicine, is the oldest medical science of the world, and history has distinctly shown that the Western Medicine is the offspring of Āyurveda. The references to this effect are amply found in the works of Weber and Buck who are none too partial towards India's claim to precedence in the matter of medicine. Criticising Stenzler's suggestion of the likelihood of Suśruta having borrowed from Greek Medicine, for there is a considerable similarity in both, even Weber in his book *History of Indian Literature* has to say that "no internal grounds whatever appear to exist; on the contrary, there is much that seems to tell against the idea of any such Greek influence. Amongst the individuals enumerated as contemporaries of Suśruta there is not one whose name has a foreign sound. Besides, Suśruta and other writers expressly assign the cultivation of medicine to Kāśī (Benares) and other eastern provinces which never came in contact with the Greeks." Buck, in his book *The Growth of Medicine from the earliest time to* 1800 at one time seems to belittle the influence of the Old Indian Medicine on the Old Greek Medicine, the progenitor of the present Western Medicine. But probing the history further he has to modify this opinion and say "that it is reasonable to suppose, although directly confirmatory evidence has not yet been discovered, that through the channels of trade between the two countries, some knowledge of the doings of the physicians of India must have reached the ears of their Greek brethren. On the other hand at a later period of history (after the invasion of Alexander the Great) the relations between the two

countries became quite close and were kept up without a break for several hundred years. During the earlier part of this period, as appears from the writings of Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galen, various drugs and methods of treatment employed by the physicians of India were adopted by the practitioners of Greece." This seems a half-hearted admission of the influence of Indian Medicine on the Greek Medical System. In making such halting admission he only considers the direct contact between Greece and India ; but he seems to forget India's indirect influence on Greek Medicine exerted through Egypt, Persia, and Arabia. Egypt (the old Misra or Misar) was the first country to be profited by Eastern learning including medicine, for it seems it was once colonised by ancient Āryans. Sir William Jones in the report of the Royal Asiatic Society is also led to believe it. Major Wilfred considers the " Misrasthāna " of Puranas to be no other than " Misra " the old name of Egypt. Perhaps it may be argued that during that close contact of the two countries Egypt may have given its medical system to India. But then there is nothing in its system that is not found in the Indian system, while there is much in the Indian system that is nowhere to be found in the Egyptian system of Medicine. Besides this India influenced the Greek Medicine through Arabia. Famous Arabian physicians Serapion, Avicenna and Rhazes, whose works are translated into European languages, have been known to quote freely Caraka, Suśruta, and Indian writers with great respect. That Indian Medicine was a very efficient science and that India had some very skilful doctors is evident from the fact, that amongst the presents offered to Alexander the Great by the defeated Hindu king was a physician of such skill " that he could even revive the dead." Arrian, the Greek historian, writing about the invasion of Alexander on India (400 B. C.), says " the Grecian physicians found no remedy against the bites of snakes ; but the Indians cured those who happened to fall under that misfortune." Alexander issued the order that those afflicted by it should come to the camp to be treated by the Indian Physicians of his court. Nearchus also supports the above statement (Wise P. VII.). Alexander not only took with him the medical science, but actually took some Indian physicians with him. Then later on at the Muhammadan invasions

in the 10th century, the invaders took this system of medicine with them to their countries. Thus not only did the system go there, but it was later on followed by the Hindu doctors who were invited to translate and teach their system and also serve in the courts of these Muhammadan rulers as physicians. It seems that Indian Medical system was known to Arabians before this period, for Prof. Wilson says "that the Arabians of the 8th century cultivated the Hindu works on Medicine before those of the Greeks, and the Caraka, the Suśruta and the treatises called Nidana were translated and studied by the Arabians in the days of Harun and Mansur (A.D. 773) either from the originals or more probably from the translations made at a still earlier period into the language of Persia." The Arabic version of Suśruta is called Kelale-Shawshūre al-Hindi. From Arabic they were translated into Latin. From Arabia this system went to Egypt, and the Egyptians in their turn taught it to the family of Hyppocrates and Pythagoras who are reputed to have originated the system of Western Medicine. Referring to this Dr. Wise says "all these medical systems have a common source; being originally derived from the family of Hyppocrates. Those distinguished benefactors of mankind first explained the nature and treatment of disease, and reduced to theory the various phenomena of human body. The Grecian philosophers were assisted by Egyptian sages who appear to have obtained much of their knowledge from some mysterious nation from the east. Egypt, after having had her institutions destroyed by the sword of the conqueror, became the seat of the Greecian learning; which was afterwards transferred to the East, where under the fostering care of the Calyphs of Bagdad medicine was cultivated with deligence and success. It received still further additions from the east, and thus improved, it was conveyed by Muhammedan conquerors into Spain. From thence it was communicated to the other parts of Europe; where it has exercised the genius of many great men, with so much advantage to suffering humanity." That Western Medicine as originated by Greece was based on the Old Indian Medicine is evident from the facts: (1) that therein appear the names of drugs which are essentially Indian drugs; (2) that there are certain descriptions in the western medicine that

bear great resemblance to the writings in the Old Indian Medical books that are older than any of the earliest Greek Medical books.

From the Arabian writers like Serapion (Ibn Serabi), Rhazes (Al-Razi) and Avicenna (who is better known as Aflatūn in India), it is absolutely clear that Arabia borrowed its medical system from the Hindu doctors. The royal courts of the old Muhammedan countries were also reputed to be medical schools. Not only did the Hindu doctors served in the Persian and Arabian courts as physicians but also taught their system of medicine and helped in translating their works into the Arabic language. That Western medicine and especially its surgery (or at least some part of it) originated in India is clear by the inclusion of the operation of Lithotomy, which could only have come from India, for Persia and Arabia not only did not practise this operation, but considered it disreputable even to witness it.

So far we saw the origin, antiquity, and history of the Āyurveda or the Old Indian Medicine. Now let us examine the charge of quackery which is in season and out of season levelled against this system. To do this we have to see what constituted the old Indian Dentistry and Medicine.

Āyurvedic or Old Indian Dentistry.

You will be agreeably surprised to know that dentistry in all its branches was well known to and practised by the old Hindu doctors. Searching into Āyurveda one finds that there is a whole chapter devoted to the mouth-cavity, wherein are described all the operations such as: (1) extractions by forceps, (2) extractions by elevators, (3) lancing of the gums, (4) removal of the Tartar, (5) fitting of the artificial dentures: that are known to the present-day Western dentistry. That dentistry must have existed then is certain, for even to-day we come across cases in which front teeth are decorated with gold or jewel studs by Indian jewellers. As a dental surgeon I appreciate the difficulty of drilling a through and through hole which is required for such decorations, without killing the nerve in these teeth; and yet thousands of teeth are with impunity perforated for this decoration. The work is so well done that any modern dentist

can be proud of it. In Āyurveda one also finds a whole chapter on mouth-hygiene. Therein instructions are given for use of a tooth-brush (which in those days, as now among Hindus, mainly consisted of Baphal and Lim or Nim twigs) and tooth-powders and tooth-pastes. The drugs recommended for those powders were tobacco, salt, burnt beetlenuts. In the chapter on Diatetics some very useful instructions are given as to the order of dishes that would be conducive to the health of the mouth-cavity and the general body. These instructions are " take soft viands first, hard and buteraccons food in the middle and liquids at the end of the meals. Similarly the sweets must be taken first, then the acid things and the bitter and pungent things the last of all." Why even to-day there is a custom in some parts of India, for example Broach, where the people start their meal with sweets. I am told that Bohras also do the same. In that chapter there is also enjoined that there should be no hurry over the meals, and the food must be well chewed and that the mouth must be cleaned from inside and out after each meal ; and the food-particles must be picked out from between the teeth by tooth-picks. These instructions compare very favourably with those given by present day mouth-hygiene. I ask, could a medical system that had for its dental branch such dentistry possessing all the operations known to the present day dentistry be called quackery ? That far from being a quackery, the Indian Medicine was a perfect science, will be clear to you when I shall gradually take you through all the branches of medicine that were known to that system of Āyurveda. This Āyurveda consisted of almost all the branches known to the present day Western medical system. As the Western medicine, Āyurveda had its Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Hygiene, Bacteriology, Chemistry, Materia Medica, Physiology, Anatomy and so on. It is impossible to give, within a short space of a public lecture, all the proofs of the existence of all these branches in the old Indian system of medicine. But to convince you that the Indian Medical System was a perfect science, I have to give some proofs in connection with some of them. We shall examine them in the order given above.

Medicine.

Medicine, *i.e.*, the branch that deals with diseases curable by medical treatment. This is one of the two (other being Surgery) branches that made the Indian Medical System famous. We will examine some of its features. The Indian Medical System has based all the diseases of the body on the three humours of the body *viz.*, Wind (vāta), Bile (pitta), and Phlegm (kapha). That Pythagoras (430 B. C.), Plato, and Hyppocrates (460 B. C.) also believed in humoural theory of diseases, is clear from their writings. This theory they must have borrowed from the Indian Medical System for these humours of the body are mentioned in the Rig Veda (i. 34. 6) which was written long before Pythagoras and Hyppocrates flourished. Enfield in his *History of Philosophy* says that Pythagoras learnt his Philosophy from Oriental philosophers, meaning the Hindus. If he borrowed his philosophy from India, and since his medical theories bear such resemblance to the theories of Old Indian Medicine it is easily conceivable that he must have learnt his Medicine from India also. This humoural pathology has existed for ages, and it is round this pathology that this wonderful system of medicine (Āyurveda) is evolved. There are some exponents of Western Medicine who deride this pathology as ridiculous and not worthy of their notice. They do so because they do not appreciate the real meaning of the words vāta, pitta and kapha which they literally translate as wind, bile, and phlegm, while they really mean much more than these English words seem to signify. Vāta or vāyu means the nerve force; pitta or pittam means the process of metabolism; and kapha means the unutilised product of the system, *i.e.*, the process of excretions. When they will realise the real meaning of these words they will appreciate this humoural pathology round which this system is evolved. Diagnosis of the diseases and the prognosis of the cases from the pulse was and still is the special feature of the Indian medical system. The knowledge of the old Hindu doctors of the variation of the pulse in various diseases was so perfect that they could easily diagnose the disease by it. I am aware of some medical men who ridicule the idea of diagnosing the diseases by pulse. Against these I

know a layman who deplores the passing away of these experts, and their art of pulse-reading. Sir John Woodroffe, the late Chief Justice of Bengal, in his book called Bharat Shakti, writing about Āyurveda says: "One of the things I most regret is the neglect of the Āyurvedic teaching, the loss of valuable remedies, and of the great experience and knowledge of the pulse of the best old time Kaviraj." So efficient was the old system of medicine that even treatment like Mesmerism, Hydropathy, and Massage which are only recently introduced in Western Medicine, were well understood and practised by the old Hindu doctors of thousands of years ago. Why the annual Jātrās of Hoonai near Billimora, and Vajrabai near Kalyan (the places noted for their hot water springs) are the proofs of the existence of the treatment of Hydropathy in ancient India. That Indian Medicine did appreciate the good effects of Massage on the body is clear from the fact that Massage, in its crude form, is practised by the Hindus even unto this day. A Hindu wife massaging the tired limbs of her husband in the evenings is a familiar sight in a Hindu household. And that is the vestige of the past treatment of Massage of the old Hindu doctors. Why even the most recent additions to the Western Medical Science, *i.e.*, the question of Immunity and Postural treatment, were not unknown to them. The familiar sight in small villages of the snake charmers curing the cases of snake-poisoning by sucking the wounds and the existence of inoculation (perhaps in a crude form) for small-pox, are the proofs positive of their knowledge of Immunity which in Āyurveda is called "Vaishnavi-Shakti", *i.e.*, disease-resisting power of the body. One Dr. Huillet of Pondicherry says "Vaccination was known to a physician. Dhanvantri who flourished before Hyppocrates." Having examined their Medicine let us now look into their surgery.

Surgery.

The old Indian Surgery contained practically all the operations that are known to the present day Western Surgery. Old Hindu Surgeons performed even such tricky operations like Rhinoplasty, Lithotomy, Abdominal Surgery, Ceserian Section, removal of the cataract in capsule and even brain surgery (which

is supposed to be the greatest achievement of the Western medicine). That Western medicine owes its surgery to India is clear from the facts that countries from which Western medicine has taken its inspiration were never good at surgery ; and that some present day operations like Rhinoplasty and Lithotomy, are essentially Indian operations originated and practised in India centuries before Western Medicine even existed in name. Weber in his *History of Indian Literature* says " In surgery Indians seem to have attained a special proficiency and in this department European Surgeons might even perhaps even at present day still learn something from them, as indeed they have already borrowed from them the operation of Rhinoplasty." Standard surgical works make no secret of their having borrowed them from Indian medicine. One author (I believe it was Sir Frederic Treeves) actually offered his thanks to one Prof. Shah of Kathiawad for demonstrating the operation of Rhinoplasty to Western Medicine. Writing about this operation Dr. Hirschberg of Berlin says: " The whole plastic surgery in Europe had taken its new flight when these cunning devices of Indian workmen became known to us". The transplanting of sensible skin flaps is also an entirely Indian method. He also gives credit to the Indians for discovering the art of " cataract-couching" which was entirely unknown to Greeks, Egyptians, or any other nation. That surgery existed then is evident from the varieties of surgical instruments that are known to have existed and their classifications mentioned in the old surgical works, of which the Suśruta Saṁhitā is the best example. That old Indian Surgery appreciated the value of and actually practised Asepsis and Antisepsis is clear from the instructions about burning some incense in the operation room before and during the operation, boiling the instruments and dressings used in operations, and cleaning the parts to be operated just before the operation. It also appreciated the value of anæsthesia during operations, for they were done under both general and local anæsthesia. They used a drug called " sammohinī " in place of chloroform. After the operation they used a drug called " sanjivinī " to bring the patient back to consciousness. The like of this drug does not exist in the Western Medicine.

Midwifery.

India that abounds with Dáis, the present currupted remains of the once perfect sect of midwives, could not be destitute of the science of midwifery. Old Indian midwifery knew all that present day Western midwifery does. Even operative interference was freely resorted to in cases of difficult and complicated labour. Indian midwifery contains some useful instructions to be observed by women during pregnancy and confinement. There are also some fine observations on infant-feeding. The present day Western midwifery has no better instructions to give than those given by the old Indian midwifery. The Postural treatment, which is only recently introduced in gynæcology and surgery, was long known to and practised by the old Hindu doctors. Postural treatment, as a means of easy impregnation, as a means of facilitating easy labour, and as a factor in curing some internal disorders, was the speciality of one Hindu doctor called Koka. His famous book *De rebus veneris* or Koksāstra as it is commonly called in Gujarati, though held in doubtful repute, because of the extreme delicacy of the subject treated in it, is translated into several languages. India can easily claim the credit of having first propounded this theory.

Bacteriology.

It is often argued that the fact of germs causing the diseases, and the science (bacteriology) and the instrument (microscope) dealing with these germs could not have been known to the old Indian medicine. That system must have had its microscope or some magnifying device, for without such device they could not have talked of germs (meaning blood-corpuscles) floating in the blood; and malaria and other fevers being caused by germs conveyed by flea-bites. Āyurveda, talking as it does of diseases by contagion, sexual intercourse, evacuation of towns during epidemics, isolation of the people of the house where there is a death from some infectious disease, cleaning and sterilising the instruments used for an operation, could not have been destitute of Bacteriology. That Āyurveda had its bacteriology is certain from the fact that Inoculation for small-pox was known to it hundreds of years before Jenner taught it to Western medicine.

Materia Medica.

It is but natural that India, a fertile country having all the periodical seasons of the years, should abound in vegetable drugs. It is not possible that the country with such wealth of vegetable drugs should not make use of them for the welfare of humanity. Thanks to the ancient Aryans who took the trouble to study and examine all these herbs, the old Indian Medicine possessed such Materia Medica that is the marvel to the modern investigator. And yet we often hear of some medical men versed in Western Medicine, making researches in these drugs, and declaring that the results are no better than with the allopathic drugs. The reason perhaps is that they forget that these drugs to be effective should be collected in particular seasons, and in particular periods of their growth, and not indiscriminately as perhaps it is done now; and that when used in different ways they have different effects. Some wonderful properties of some rare drugs were taught to Indian medicine by the old ascetics, who used these drugs only, to keep their bodies and soul together. Though some of this knowledge became public property, and got incorporated in the old Indian medicine, most of this knowledge was handed down from teacher to pupil, or from father to son, and forms the bulk of the unwritten and traditional lore on the nature and properties of the Indian curative agents. Not only was Indian Materia Medica acquainted with the vegetable drugs only, but its knowledge of animal and mineral drugs was also very considerable. Writing about Materia Medica Weber says: "Information regarding the medicinal properties of minerals (especially precious stones and metals), of plants, and animal substances, and the chemical analysis and decomposition of these, covers certainly much that is valuable. Indeed the branch of Materia Medica generally appears to be handled with great predilection and thus makes up to us in some measure at least for the absence of investigations in the field of natural science." That Indian medicine made considerable use of minerals, is clear from the fact of pearl, gold, silver, mercury, diamonds, etc., being prescribed by the Āyurvedists and Yunani Hakims of even present day. These drugs, before they could be given internally, had to pass through some chemical processes which, it seems, are now unfortu-

nately lost; and which loss is deplored by Sir John Woodroffe in one of his books. The use of gold, in certain forms, only recently made by the Western medicine, was well known to the old Hindu doctors. That Western Materia Medica has borrowed, and borrowed freely from the Indian Materia Medica, is clear from the mention of some essentially Indian drugs (such as Tila, Jatamansi, Shringavera, and Marchi or Black Pepper) in the medical works of Hippocrates, Dioscorides, and Claudius Galen. Galen, to whom Western Medical Science is considerably indebted, describes some medicine as hot or cold. This idea he seems to have borrowed from India where it prevails unto this day. Not merely are these drugs mentioned by them only, but they are actually classified by them in the way done in Āyurveda. Materia Medica was taught to the old Hindu doctors in a much better way than it is done now in the Western Medical Schools. In those old days Medical students were taken by the teachers in the jungles, and were taught on the spot to recognise these drugs in their natural state, their season of flowering, period of growth when they possess their peculiar properties, localities from which they should be gathered, the manner of treating and extracting their active principles and preserving them.

Physiology and Anatomy.

That the old Indian medicine well understood physiology, *i.e.*, the normal working of the body, is clear from some fine descriptions of some physiological processes like the circulation of blood, and the digestion of human food. Dr. William Harvey is credited with the discovery of the circulation of blood in 1628. It seems that he must have had his inspiration from earlier Hindu writers, for they have given similar descriptions of the circulation of blood in books written centuries before Harvey was born. That description is as follows: "That Rasa (Rasa and Rakta is practically the same, as I shall show you a little later) is propelled from the heart by the Vyāna Vāyu to circulate through the arteries and veins, and that it nourishes the body as water converged through the cannals irrigates the fields." Hārīta, another famous old physician, in his work Hārīta Saṁhitā, also refers to circulation when

dealing with the disease Paṇḍuroga, *i.e.*, Anæmia. However we must give Dr. Harvey the credit of greater precision in the matter. Perhaps some people may argue that the description mentioned in the old Indian physiology is of the circulation of a substance called Rasa and not of blood (Rakta). But there is no difference in these two fluids except in colour and specific gravity. According to the old Hindu doctors, Rasa is the most essential fluid that supports the body. It takes up the colour on its passage through the spleen and lever.

As for the anatomy it may be said that it was understood even better than physiology. It has so precisely mentioned the number of bones, muscles, nerves, arteries, etc., in the body. Its anatomy, far from being based on mere guess work, was based on the sure foundation of the dissection of the body. Dr. Wise (to whom we owe much of our present knowledge of the old Indian medicine) talking on its anatomy says: "The Hindu philosophers undoubtedly deserve the credit of having, though opposed by strong prejudice, entertained sound and philosophical views respecting the uses of the dead to the living; and were the first and scientific and successful cultivators of the most important and essential of all the departments of medical knowledge—practical anatomy." That the old Hindu doctors attached a great importance to the department of anatomy in general, and dissection in particular is evident from the writings of Caraka and Suśruta. Caraka has said "that a practitioner should know all parts of the body, both external and internal, and their relative positions against each other. Without such a knowledge he cannot be a proper practitioner." Suśruta has said "that a Yogī (a holy man) should dissect in order that he may know the different parts of the human body; and a surgeon and a physician should not only know the external appearances but the internal structures of the body; in order to possess an intimate knowledge of the diseases to which it is liable, and to perform surgical operations so as to avoid the vital parts. It is by combining a knowledge of books with practical dissection that the practitioner will alone attain an intimate knowledge of the subject in his profession" (Wise, p. 68). Besides human anatomy they knew also the

anatomy of goat, sheep, horse, etc. Writing of strong prejudice Dr. Wise, I presume, refers to the agitation of Gautama Buddha against the dissection of the human body. His agitation knocked the old Indian medicine on the head, by knocking on the head of dissection, for since then (B. C. 543) it is supposed, the Indian Surgery began to decline.

Such, as I have described in detail, was the Āyurveda, *i.e.*, Indian medicine that is called a quackery by some people. If quackery is of this sort, then give me that quackery back. Indian medicine was at its zenith at the time of the Muhammedan invasions in the 10th century when it received its first rude shock. Since that date Āyurveda, *i.e.*, the pure Indian medicine got mixed with the Yunānī, *i.e.*, the Arabic medicine brought by Muhammedan doctors (Hakims) accompanying the invading army. The reason of its decline is obvious, for nothing can flourish without the support of the State. It was during the time of the Muhammedan rule (1001-1707) it seems that India first came in contact with the European nations. That first contact seems to be signalised by the introduction of that dire diseases—syphilis—in India. A Hindu doctor named Bhava Miśra, who flourished in about 1550 A.D. for the first time calls that disease Firangī Roga, *i.e.*, the disease of the Firangese, *i.e.*, Portuguese. After the Muhammedan rule the Peshwas came in power (A. D. 1715-1818), and under them the old Indian medicine struggled to revive, and some important medical works were written during this period. After the Peshwas came the English, and their advent in the 18th century brought about the death of that once famous and perfect medical science, because the English came with the preconceived notion that the Indian medicine was a quackery and the Hindu works on the subject, a repository of sheer nonsense. Not only did this notion prevail amongst the English people, but also amongst some Indians with a mentality that thinks that everything European is good, and everything Indian is bad; and who, because of such mentality have lost their confidence and national pride in the Indian medicine. It is something to be thankful for that there were and still are a few Englishmen with reasoned and well balanced judgment, and Indians with national pride who hold a different opinion of Indian medicine.

As an example of what some Indians think of it I will quote from the report of the Committee appointed by the Madras Government to report on this indigenous medical system. They reported that "the indigenous system of medicine is perfect, logical, and scientific from the stand-point of science and art, and that it is quite self-sufficient and economical; and that they are of opinion that only through the promotion of the Indian system that the Government can help to achieve the idea of bringing medical relief in the reach of all people." A better refutation of the charge that Indian medicine is a quackery, one could not wish for. But if one must have it, it lies in the existence of an actual college in Delhi for teaching this system; and in the opinion of Sir John Woodroffe, the late Chief Justice of Bengal. He says, "The country abounds in valuable herbal and other remedies. Āyurvedic remedies are effective, as I personally know in respect to those which I have tried. They do not harm as some allopathic drugs do, for nothing is a medicine in Āyurveda which in any case is harmful. Like all Indian things they are gentle and natural in action; they are cheap, easily available, to be had almost for the cost of gathering them." But no, all that will not do. "Give me English Medicine," as a sick servant of mine said, for faith in his own had gone. And so the dispensaries distribute, and private persons purchase Western allopathic medicine brought from thousands of miles away at a cost which, compared with the local remedies, is great. One of the things I most regret is the neglect of Āyurvedic teaching, the loss of valuable remedies, and the great experience and knowledge of the pulse of the best old time Kavirāj. I hear now of factories of Indian drugs. The Western idea again! But no factory can equal the hand preparation of Indian remedies extending over great lengths of time. The charitable dispensary with its imported medicine, is but only one out of many instances of that lack of faith in one's own, which is one of the most obvious causes of the inert and dependent condition of this country. A man or people who have no faith in themselves will not and do not deserve to succeed. For he who has no faith must lean on another. A man who says he is not fit to do a thing cannot do it. Meanwhile if people prefer imported medicines, and being opened out

with great skill by Western Surgeons and their Indian disciples, that is their affair. It may be that surgical operations are in some cases and in the last resort necessary. But the country can get along without foreign drugs. Perhaps some European with his enterprise and ability will take in hand the indigenous drugs. He will probably then find the usual imitators. Some time back an Indian friend told me that a German traveller had taken away from the Kangra valley a number of rare Rasāyana Tantras. Why, asked my friend sarcastically, was he troubling his head over things which had been "exploded by science", for to many science is always "exploding" something or other. His reply was instructive: "We will perhaps recast what is there and send it back to your country." Those who now reject will certainly receive anything Indian, if it is presented with western impremature. Even the Upanishads had need of such a "chit". Though its adherents do not recognise it, this chit-system is symbolic of a wide spread evil—the dependence on what others and not we ourselves approve. Such, was the indigenous system of medicine, which some persons dare to call a quackery. There are now no two opinions on the glorious civilisation that India enjoyed when Europe was in a barbarous state. Talking of it to the Englishmen coming out to India Sir Monier Monier-Williams had said that "India has a polished language, a cultured literature, an abstruse system of philosophy centuries before English existed even in name." It is hard, nay it is absolutely impossible, to believe that India possessing as it deed such language, literature, and philosophy, could for its medical system encourage quackery.

My object in choosing this subject for to-day's lecture is to refute the statement that the indigenous system of medicine is a quackery, and to stimulate the interest of the Indian doctors who may happen to be here in that system. From amongst the doctors and the medical students I see here to-day, if I succeed in stirring but one heart to action I shall feel amply repaid for the trouble I have taken. It is often argued by my medical friends and other people that when we have a good system in Western medicine, why try and put life in the petrified bones of the old Indian medicine which is a dead science. To them I shall reply

in the words that Sir John Woodroffe used in his reply to his friend's statement that "India is a dead country." I shall take the liberty of substituting the words "Indian medicine" for the word "India" in his reply.

"Only those are dead, who believe themselves to be so. Indian medicine is not dead. It is yet alive, though not fully awake to-day. It is precisely because it is a living force that it provokes antagonism from those who dislike, or fear its culture. Does any one now fume against or ridicule the medical systems of Greece, Egypt, Persia or Arabia? They are left, as things which are dead and gone, to the scientific dissection of the cool historian. But while touching Indian medicine even the scholars could not be impartial. Why? Because Indian medicine is not the mere subject of academic talk, but is a living force. Indian medicine is still feared where she is not loved. Why again? Precisely because she lives, because she is still potentially powerful to impose her ideas upon the world. She is still an antagonist to be reckoned with in the conflict of medical cultures. Why has she with her pathology, so unique and so different from any other of the West, been preserved? Indian medicine lives because of the world purpose which she has to fulfil: because the world be enriched by what she can give to the other medical system." We Indians are the custodians of this treasure. Proud of our guardianship, let us cast aside false shame of ourselves and our own, as also all fear and sloth. Let us tell our English friends and the other advocates of the Western medicine, that the medical system of our motherland, in spite of all its faults and imperfections, and which system has not, does not deserve to be condemned off-hand. It deserves to be preserved and investigated in the right spirit of seekers after Truth. When that is done it will be seen that the Western medicine has yet more to learn from the old Aryan Medical Science.

BRIEF NOTE.

A Note on 'Pratyakṣa.'

Annambhaṭṭa in his Tarkasaṅgraha[1] gives two varieties of *pratyakṣa* or Perception, *viz.* (1) *nirvikalpaka* and (2) *savikalpaka*. The first variety consists of the knowledge of a thing *without* any of its qualities, while the second consists of the knowledge of a thing *with* all its qualities. When we see a cow, our knowledge of this cow is of the form 'this is something'; while at the next stage it develops into the knowledge which is of the form 'this is a cow' with all her qualities.

I give below the analyses of the same process of Perception by two different psychologists, which bear close resemblance to the analysis of *pratyakṣa* given by Annambhaṭṭa :—

(1) Strictly speaking the two stages of the process of Perception overlap and merge into a single momentary consciousness and we must regard the two varieties of *pratyakṣa* not as two different states of consciousness but one continuous state. Though *pratyakṣa* is "indriyārtha-sannikarṣaja", *i.e.*, arising out of the contact of the sense organ with the object of sense, it is rightly said to be a "*jñāna*" by Annambhaṭṭa, since it is "more of a mental process or an act of mind than sensation."[2] The *nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa* corresponds to what Sully calls the *localisation* process and the *savikalpaka pratyakṣa* corresponds to the process of *objectification of sensation*. The element of sensation in both these processes is extra-organic, *i.e.*, it refers to qualities external to the organism as distinguished from intra-organic sensation such as the sensation of burning in a certain part of the skin.[3] Sully recognizes in the above analysis both the *sensational* and the *ideational* factor in the process of *pratyakṣa*.

(2) The second analysis of the same mental process is given by Wundt. He gives us the two processes of the entrance into consciousness and of the elevation into the focus of attention.[4]

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1 Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. LV, p. 29, sec. 42.

2 Sully, *Human Mind*, Vol. I, p. 207.

3 Ibid., p. 208.

4 Wundt, *Introduction to Psychology* (Engl. transl. by Pintner), p. 35.

These two processes are designated (i) *apprehension* and (ii) *apperception*. By the first he means the entrance into the large region of consciousness, while by the second is meant the elevation into the focus of attention. He understands by 'apprehension' simply the entrance of some content into consciousness and by 'apperception,' the grasping of this by attention. The *apprehended* content is that of which we are more or less darkly aware, while the *apperceived* content is that of which we are clearly aware. He remarks further that the scope of *apperception* is a relatively limited and constant one and that the scope of *apprehension* is not only larger but much more variable.

It will be seen from the above analyses of the same mental process given by Annambhaṭṭa, who is mainly a logician, and by Sully and Wundt, the psychologists, that they seem to agree on the following aspects of the process :—

(i) That the *pratyakṣa* or Perception is a mental process not an act of mind. Annambhaṭṭa calls it *jñāna*, while Wundt calls it "a process of the entrance into consciousness;"

(ii) that the *pratyakṣa* begins with *indriyārtha-sannikarṣa* and hence in the initial stages contains the elements of *sensation* which gradually undergo *ideation*; and, lastly,

(iii) that although the process of *pratyakṣa* is one continued whole there arises in it a stage which justifies the use of the terms *nirvikalpaka* and *savikalpaka*, '*sensation*' and '*ideation*', '*apprehension*' and '*apperception*,'—all of them trying to lay emphasis on the differentiation between the former and the latter half of the process.

P. K. Gode.

January, 1926.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ ..... *a*	औ ..... *au*	ठ ..... *ṭh*	भ ..... *bh*
आ ..... *ā*	क ..... *k*	ड ..... *ḍ*	म ..... *m*
इ ..... *i*	ख ..... *kh*	ढ ..... *ḍh*	य ..... *y*
ई ..... *ī*	ग ..... *g*	ण ..... *ṇ*	र ..... *r*
उ ..... *u*	घ ..... *gh*	त ..... *t*	ल ..... *l*
ऊ ..... *ū*	ङ ..... *ṅ*	थ ..... *th*	व ..... *v*
ऋ ..... *ṛ*	च ..... *c*	द ..... *d*	श ..... *ś*
ॠ ..... *ṝ*	छ ..... *ch*	ध ..... *dh*	ष ..... *ṣ*
ऌ ..... *ḷ*	ज ..... *j*	न ..... *n*	स ..... *s*
ए ..... *e*	झ ..... *jh*	प ..... *p*	ह ..... *h*
ऐ ..... *ai*	ञ ..... *ñ*	फ ..... *ph*	ळ ..... *ḷ*
ओ ..... *o*	ट ..... *ṭ*	ब ..... *b*	

◌ं (*Anusvāra*) ..... *ṁ*	× (*Jihvāmūlīya*) ..... *ḳ*
◌ँ (*Anunāsika*) ..... *m̐*	≍ (*Upadhmānīya*) ..... *ḥ*
ः (*Visarga*) ..... *ḥ*	ऽ (*Avagraha*) ..... '

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic.

ا . . . . . *a*	ز . . . . . *z*	ق . . . . . *q*	ـِ . . . *i* or *e*
ب . . . . . *b*	س . . . . . *s*	ک . . . . . *k*	ـُ . . . *u* or *o*
ت . . . . . *t*	ش . . . . . *sh*	ل . . . . . *l*	ـَا . . . . *ā*
ث . . . . . *th*	ص . . . . . *ṣ*	م . . . . . *m*	ـِي . . . *ī*, *e*
ج . . . . . *j*	ض . . . . . *ẓ*	ن . . . . . *n*	ـُو . . . *ū*, *o*
ح . . . . . *ḥ*	ط . . . . . *ṭ*	و . . . . . *w*	ـَی . . . . *ai*
خ . . . . . *kh*	ظ . . . . . *ẓ*	ه . . . . . *h*	ـَو . . . . *au*
د . . . . . *d*	ع . . . . . ‘	ي . . . . . *y*	silent t . . . *ḥ*
. . . . . *ż*	غ . . . . . *gh*	ء	
. . . . . *r*	ف . . . . . *f*	ـَ . . . . . *a*	

Persian.

پ . . . . . *p*	چ . . . . . *ch*	ژ . . . . . *zh*	گ . . . . . *g*

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EIGHTEEN REMARKABLE THINGS OR EVENTS OF THE REIGN (593-628 A.C.) OF KHUSRU PARVIZ (CHOSROES II) OF PERSIA.

By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

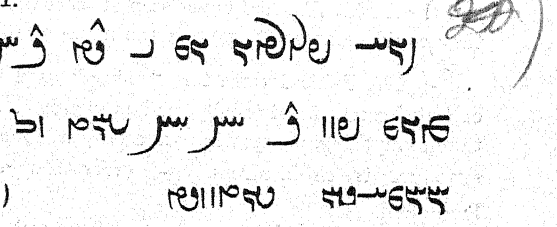
(*Read on 11th March* 1924.)

Introduction.

I.

There is a small Pahlavi treatise known as "Mādīgān-i Bīnā-Fravardīn yūm-i Khūrdād," *i.e.*, "an account of month Fravardin, day Khurdād". It is referred to by Dr. E. West as "Mādigān-i māh Fravardīn roz Khurdād" in his article on the Pahlavi Literature.[1] It describes the remarkable events said to have occurred on the Khurdād-sāl day, from the beginning of the creation upto now, and says, that even the Resurrection day will fall on that day. This Khurdād-sāl day now falls in September. It is still observed with some eclät by the Parsees and is declared as a Public Holiday by Government.

In this Pahlavi treatise, we read the following reference to 18 remarkable things or events of the reign of Khusru Parvīz (*i.e.* Khusru the Victorious), known by Western writers as Chosroes II his grand-father Naushīrwān ʿĀdil (*i.e.*, Naushīrwān the Just) being known as Chosroes I.



(Sec. 27)

[1] *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Band II, pp. 75 et seq. *Vide* p. 111 for the reference to the text of the events. The Text is published in *The Pahlavi Texts* by Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji (pp. 102 et seq). It is translated by Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji in the *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume* (pp. 122 et seq), edited by me. An incomplete Persian version of the treatise is found in the Rivayets (*vide* Dastur Darab Hormuzdyar's Rivayet by M. R. Unvala, with my Introduction, Vol. II, p. 49).

Translation: In the month of Fravardin, on the day Khordād, 18 things [2] came (or occurred) to Khusru, the son of Hormazd during 18 years.

The Pahlavi treatise does not say what the particular 18 remarkable things or events of Khusru's reign were. Again, it does not say which particular 18 years of Khusru's long reign of 38 years (590-628 A.C.) are meant as those during which the things or events occurred. There is no other writing, Pahlavi or Persian, as far as I know, which enumerates and determines these 18 things or events.

I was led to the study of this subject by an interesting article entitled, " Note sur une Tapisserie Arabe du VIIIe siécle " by M. E. Blochet in the October 1923 issue (pp. 613-17) of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. M. Blochet describes the Arab Tapestry and illustrates his description with a plate, representing a piece of the tapestry in the collection of M. E. Géjou of Paris. He traces the design to an original Persian carpet of Khusru Parvīz. He thus refers to it :

" The Mahomedan historians, (both) Arab and Persian, have preserved for us in their chronicles, a tradition, according to which the army of Sa'd, which seized Ctesiphon in 637 (A. C.) found in the palace of the King of Persia a carpet of gigantic dimensions, the history of which seems to be a legend borrowed from (the book of) *The Thousand and One Nights*. The subjects of the Sassanian monarch called this carpet 'The Spring of Khusru ' and the Arabs, who had never seen at Mecca or Medina an object with which they could compare it, gave it the name of al-Kathif *i.e.*, the Carpet." [3]

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2 The Pahlavi word for " things" used in this passage is *mandavam* or (*mindavam*), traditionally read as *mandum*. It means " a thing, something, anything, a matter, an affair, a concern, property." Its Pazend synonym is *chish*. Pers. چیز (West-Haug's Glossary of *Virāf-Nāmeh*, p. 221).

3 " Les historiens musulmans, arabes et persans, nous ont conservé dans leurs chroniques une tradition suivant laquelle l'armée du Sa'd, qui s'empara de Ctésiphon, en 637, trouva dans le palais du roi de Perse un tapis de dimensions gigantesques, dont l'histoire semble une légende empruntée aux Mille et Une Nuits. (E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, dans les Publications de la Société Française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, Paris, 1914—20, Page 137f.) Les sujets du monarque sassanide nommaient ce tapis ' le Printemps du

M. Blochet then describes the carpet and says that according to Arab historians, during the monotonous rigour of winter, the carpet gave to the King of Iran the illusion of the budding spring (printemps naissant). In winter, the king lived in the vaulted halls of the White Palace of Ctesiphon. There, he got this carpet spread on the pavements of the galleries and with his family in the midst of the groves, which were embroidered in gold and silk on the carpet, imagined to himself that he was enjoying the spring season. Hence, the carpet was named "the Spring of Khusru." When Ctesiphon fell, this carpet was captured by the Arab army and sent to Khalif Omar at Medina. There, it was broken up in pieces. M. Blochet says that the style of this carpet continued in Persian carpets upto the 16th century. M. Blochet then gives a plate illustrating a carpet in which the above style of embroidery was copied.

Now I think that the carpet of Khusru, known as the "Spring of Khusru" referred to by M. Blochet, as being one, the style of which served as a model for a long time, was one of the 18 remarkable things of the reign of Khusru Parvīz [4] referred to in the above Pahlavi treatise. The object of this paper, therefore, is to determine, as said above, the 18 remarkable things or events of Khusru's reign and the period of 18 years during which they occurred. First of all, I will determine, what we may call, the fortunate 18 years of Khusru's reign.

II.

The Fortunate 18 *years of Khusru's reign.*

Khusru Parvīz was one of the most unfortunate as well as one of the most fortunate kings of Persia. As said by Nöldeke on the

Chosroès,' et les Arabes, qui, à la Mecque et à Médine, n'avaient jamais vu un object qu'on lui p t comparer, lui donnèrent le nom de al-Kathif 'le Tapis.'

[4] Old Arab writers like Mas'ūdī and Ṭabarī, give the name as (ابرويز) *abarwiz*. The word seems to be originally something like Av. *apara*, (far off,) and *viz* or rather *vis* विश् (to be or become or to come), *i.e.*, one who reaches far off; then victorious. Noldeke (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 275 n.) thus traces it: *aparweg*, *aparwez*, (neu-Pers.) *abarwez* (arab *abariz*—oder *abarwaz*) oder *parwez* "siegreich" (victorious).

authority of Ṭabarī, Khusru Parvīz " was one of the Persian kings, who, in valor, prudence and distant military expeditions, was the most prominent." [5] The reign of Khusru Parvīz was a reign in which Persia had come into great contact with the later Roman Empire. The history of the times of Emperor Maurice, his murderer and his successor Phoceon and of his successor Heraclius, is greatly connected with the history of Persia in the time of Khusru. Again, some of the 18 things or events in the 18 years of his reign are associated with both, the history of Persia and the history of the Roman Empire. So, a brief narration of the historical relations between the two countries seems to be necessary to understand our subject well and to enable us to determine the 18 years and the 18 events or things.

Relations subsisting between Persia and Rome.

Khusru came to the throne of Persia in 590 A. C. when his father Hormazd was deposed and put to death at Ctesiphon. Then for six more years he was not secure on his throne and had to look after the dangerous conspirators of his own court and country, the very men who had revolted against his father and murdered him. In these early years, he had to run away to the Court of the Roman Emperor Maurice, who not only helped him, but, according to Masūdī, Firdausī and other writers, gave him, in marriage, his daughter Mary (ماریہ) [6]. By the treaty of alliance which was the result of the marriage, [7] Khusru gave up to the Roman Emperor his rights on the country of Egypt and Syria which his grandfather Naushirwān had conquered.

5 " Dies war einer der persischen Konige, welche durch Tapferkeit, Klugheit and weite Kriegzüge, am meisten hervorragten." (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber* zur zeit der Sasaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari, von Th. Noldeke (1879), p. 275.)

6 Masūdī transl. B. de Meynard, II, p. 221.

7 With reference to this marriage of a Zoroastrian king with a Christian princess, Masūdī refers to the custom of the kings of Iran which required that an Iranian can marry the girl of a non-Iranian but not give an Iranian girl in marriage to a non-Iranian. He points, as analogy for a similar custom, to the Korachites. He says: " Le rois de Perse pouvaient épouser les filles des rois étrangers ; mais ils ne voulaient pas de ces rois pour gendres, parce qu'ils se considèraient comme d'une race plus libre-

Gibbon, in his long account of Khusru's relations with Maurice, does not refer to this marriage, but according to him, the relations between Khusru and Maurice were like those of a son and father. He speaks of Maurice as Khusru's "adopted father" [8] and of Khusru as his son. So, the relationship, if not of father-in-law and son-in-law, was certainly something like that of an adopted father and son. Khusru remained faithful to the Roman Emperor Maurice till the end of his life when he was killed in the revolution of Phocas. Then he helped his son Theodosius. In fact, his subsequent war with Rome was to avenge, as it were, the insult that Rome, instigated by Phocas, had done to his adopted father. [9]

Now, just as Khusru and his father had to suffer at the hands of rebels in their country, Emperor Maurice had to do the same. He fell at the hands of Phocas (603 A.C.), who seized the throne of the Roman Empire. By this time Khusru had established himself on his throne, and was in a position strong enough to avenge the death of Maurice. He helped Theodosius, the son of Maurice, who had fled and sought his shelter. He on behalf of Theodosius, declared war against the Roman Emperor Heraclius, who was, at one time, the Governor of Africa, and who, overthrowing Phocas, the usurper, in 610 A.C., had come to the throne. Inthe next year, Khusru Parvīz invaded Syria and took Antioch and Apamea. He invaded Cappadocia in 612 A.C. In 614 A.C., he took Damascus. He then enlisted 26,000 Jews in his army and raised a general war against the Christians, and going to Palestine, took Jerusalem and captured the holy cross on which Christ was crucified. In 616, his general Shahr Baraz, crossing the desert, went over to Egypt

et plus noble. Les Persans entrent dans de longs détails sur cet usage, qui offre de l'analogie avec les priviléges des Koreïchites et leur titre de Hamas (braves.)" (Ibid.)

8 *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1844), Vol. III, p. 238.

9 It was said that the influence of the relationship with Maurice had turned Khusru a little to Christianity. If so, it may have been for a short time only. According to Gibbon, the pregnancy of this beloved wife of his, whom he calls "Sira or Schirin" and who was a devout Christian, was ascribed to the King's devotion to the Christian bishop Sergius (Ibid). On his return to Persia, Khusru is said to have had 1,000 picked Roman soldiers as his bodyguard.

and captured Pelusium and Alexandria. Thus, after about 900 years, Persia regained Egypt which was first conquered by the Achæmenians. In 617, Khusru's second army, which had invaded Cappadocia, beseiged Chalcedon, situated on the Bithynian coast opposite to Constantinople. Heraclius sued for peace on the advice of the Persian general Sain but in vain. Khusru got enraged against his general for the above advice. Chalcedon fell in 617 A.C. With this victory, Persia extended its sway over all the regions once ruled over by the Achæmenians. The great Roman Empire was now reduced merely to the city of Constantinople and some stray tracts of country in Italy, Greece and Africa. And according to the saying that, at times, misfortunes do not come singly, the Avars, an offshoot of the Old Hun race, invaded Thrace and threatened Constantinople itself. Being hard pressed on all sides, Heraclius thought of leaving Constantinople and going to Carthage in Africa, the region of his former governorship. So, during this time of various difficulties, he embarked all his treasures on board the ships to be carried away, before him, to Africa, his proposed destination of flight. When Ṭabarī speaks of Abyssinia as the country to which the Roman treasures were sent, the country meant was Africa, of which Abyssinia was then an important part. But another misfortune followed. The fleet of ships carrying his treasures to Africa was wafted by adverse winds to a Persian port in Asia Minor and the great Roman treasure fell into the hands of Khusru. At home, another misfortune overtook Heraclius. The news of his proposed flight to Africa became known to the people whom he wanted to desert in their difficulties and they all rose against him under the Patriarch of Constantinople. They prevented him from running away and the Patriarch made him swear in the famous church of St. Sophia, that he would stick to his country and not run away.

What stood by his side in the midst of all his misfortunes was his maritime power. With the help of this power, he went to the Armenian frontiers and defeated the Persian army there in 622 A.C. and returned victorious to Constantinople. The next year (623), he again marched against the Persians—this time with the allied help of the Khazars, another offshoot of the Huns. He

won a great victory and destroyed several Persian towns and places, one of the most important of which was the city on Lake Urumiah (Chaechista of the Avesta), where burned one of the most sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians. He destroyed the great Fire-temple and avenged, as said by Nöldeke, the fall of Jerusalem.

In 624, the Persian army under Shahr Baraz was defeated in Armenia. In 625 Shahr Baraz was again defeated in Cilicia. In 626, Khusru took into his alliance the Khān of the Avars and made a powerful attempt to turn the tide of his defeat. He stood well in the land fight near Tiflis. His allies, the Avars, had attacked Constantinople, but owing to want of sea-power, the Persians could not render any substantial help, in time, to the Avars. So, the attack on Constantinople failed.

In 627, Heraclius attacked Dastgard, the city of Khusru's residence, about 70 miles north of Ctesiphon, and, after a stubborn fight in several places, won the final victory against Khusru. This defeat brought about a revolution in Khusru's country. He had further made himself unpopular by misbehaving with two generals, who, though fighting bravely under unfortunate circumstances, lost battles. His nobles rose against him and he was put into prison and later on murdered. (628 A.C.).

Thus, we see that the fortunate successful years of Khusru commenced from 604, when he began to wage a successful war against Rome under Phocus, who had murdered the preceding Roman Emperor, and ended in 622 when Heraclius turned the scales of victory against him.

III.

The Eighteen Remarkable Things or Events.

Now, we come to the subject of the 18 remarkable things or events which occurred during the above 18 years. As said above, though we do not find any regular enumeration in any work, Pahlavi or Persian, we are in a position to make up an approximate though not a sure and certain list from various sources.

First of all, it is the Arab historian Ṭabarī who refers to a number of these remarkable events of Khusru's reign. The subject

forms, according to his translator, Zotenberg,[10] the 55th chapter of the second part of his work.

Tabari's List of some of the 18 *things.*

In the Persian Version of Ṭabarī's work there is a separate chapter, headed :[11]

در ذکر پادشاهی کردن خسرو پرویز که کسری خوانند

(*i.e.*, in the matter of the reign of Khusru Parvīz who is called Kesr). Therein, we have an account of some of his very rare unique possessions. Zotenberg has very properly headed the chapter as that of Khusru's Treasures (richesses).[12] In this chapter of Ṭabarī, we have a mention of the following rare possessions of Khusru's reign. I will first enumerate them and will then describe them in some details.

1. A rich golden throne known as Tākdis.
2. A rich crown.
3. A very swift Roman horse, known as Shabdiz.
4. A young girl of surprising beauty, known as Shīrīn.
5. An enormous treasure, known as Bādverd, which was captured from the Roman Emperor.
6. A stable of 50,000 horses, camels and mules.
7. 1,000 elephants.
8. A harem containing 12,000 women including free and slave women.
9. 12,000 white camels known as Turkish camels.
10. A towel made of malleable gold.
11. Two great musicians named Bārboud and Sergius.
12. A rich carpet (mentioned in a separate chapter by Ṭabarī).

10 Ṭabarī, transl. Zotenberg II, pp. 304-5. For the Arabic text of the reign of Khusru, spoken of by Ṭabarī as ابرویز کسری Kesr Abarviz, *vide* "Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at Ṭabarī cum alis edidit M. J. de Goeje. Prima Series II, recensuerunt J. Barth et Th. Noldeke (1881-82)" p. 1009.

11 Munshi Naval Kishore's Text of 1874, p. 359.

12 Zotenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 304.

These things form the list of Khusru's very rare valuable possessions as given by Ṭabarī [13]. I will now describe these in some detail :

1. *A rich Golden Throne.*

The first unique thing which Khusru possessed was a golden throne named Tākdis.[14] It had a height of 110 cubits [15] (ارش) having its four feet of red rubies. At the end of each foot there were 100 pearls, each of the size of the egg of a sparrow (*kunjishk*). Firdausī gives a long description of this throne.[16] He first refers to a throne of the kings of Persia which was first got constructed by Faridun through an architect named Jahn Barzin (جہن برزین). Faridun had possessed three valuable things : 1. A cow-shaped mace (*gurz-i gāvsār*) ; 2. A jewel, named *haft-chashma* (*i.e.*, seven-eyed or seven-sided) ; and 3. This throne. The kings who succeeded him, one by one, added to the beauty of the throne by putting on it additional jewels. It came down upto the time of Alexander who destroyed it and Firdausī calls this a "senseless work" (bi-dānashī) on Alexander's part. When Ardeshir (Babegān) ascended the throne, he heard of it and collecting the remains or broken parts of the old throne reconstructed another throne, which, later on, was embellished by Noshirwān (Chosroes I). Khusru Parvīz, on coming to the throne of Persia, thought of reconstructing it (*ke ān nāmvar takht rā nao kunam*). He heard that there were old records to show that king Gushtāsp had thought of constructing a throne on the advice and design of his minister Jāmāsp. He sent for the records and proceeded to construct another grand throne with the help of his architects

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13 I have followed in this enumeration, not Nawal Keshore's Text, which is much abridged, but Zotenberg's version (Vol. II, pp. 304-5, Chap. 55).

14 Lit. "like (دیس *dīs*) an arch."

15 Tabari, Text, *op. cit.*, p. 359, last line. Zotenberg, p. 304. Firdausī gives 170 cubits. A cubit is about 18 inches.

16 Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV, pp. 2004 *et seq.* I give my translation from this text. *Vide* Mohl's small edition, Vol. VII, pp. 249, *et seq.* Kutar Brothers' Shah-nāmah, Vol. X, p. 74. Dastur Minocheher's Trans., Vol. IX, p. 499.

assisted by those from Roum (Constantinople), China, Mekran and Bagdad. 1,120 artizans, with 30 apprentices under each, worked for two years over the throne. The throne was 120 *rash*[17] (*i.e.*, cubits) in breadth. The height of the throne was greater than the breadth. On each of the 30 days of the month, different kinds of carpets (*farsh*) were spread upon it. It was made of ten parts (*lakht*) with 140,000 paintings with turquoises set on a golden surface. The clasps and nails were all of silver. The throne was put upon the ground of a race-course (*asp-rīs*) and the surroundings were artistically prepared, so that, with the position of the sun in the different constellations, different garden landscapes presented themselves. It was provided with sufficient warm curtains or screens (*tāq*)[18] for the winter. Again a thousand golden and silver balls were kept on it, and, they, being heated by some contrivance, diffused heat. Each of the balls weighed 500 *misqāls*[19]. Half the number (*i.e.*, 500) of the balls were in turn kept on the throne to give warmth and half the number were in turn carried to the fire to be heated. The throne was mathematically or astronomically so arranged in the midst of its surroundings, that those sitting on it could know by what they saw, the position of the moon in the heavens at the time and calculated what time of night it was. The whole structure consisted of three stages, one over the other, all the three standing on a platform. The throne-seats of all the stages were decorated with rich jewels. Four steps led from one stage to the higher. All the steps were of gold and were bedecked with jewels. The first part or stage of the throne was called *mish-sār* (*i.e.*, sheep-like), because it had the facing of a sheep. The second was called *lājward* (*i.e.*, of lapis lazuli). The third stage of the throne was made of *pirouzeh* (*i.e.*, turquoise). On the public occasions when the court was held, the lower *mish-sār* stage or platform of the throne was occupied by the commoners (*dahkān va zīr dastān*, *i.e.*, the villagers and the subordinates); the lājvardi platform was occupied by the higher

17 A *rash* or cubit is one and a half foot. So, the breadth of the throne came to 180 ft.

18 *cf.* Gujarati તાંકો.

19 A misqāl is one and three-seventh dram in weight.

military classes. The highest platform of turquoise was occupied by the Dastur or the Prime Minister.

It appears from the above description of the throne by Firdausī, that it was not an ordinary throne but a huge piece of structure with platforms or stages rising one over another, over the uppermost of which sat the king himself with his prime minister by his side.

2. *A Rich Crown.*

Khusru's second rare possession, according to Ṭabarī, was a very rich crown. It was a crown having 100 pearls, each of the size of a bird's egg.[20]

3. *The Horse Shab-dīz.*

The third valuable possession of Khusru was a horse named Shab-dīz, *i.e.*, the night-coloured or dark-coloured (horse). It was "taller than any (other horse) in the world, being four cubit-measures (*zara'*). It had come to his hands from Roum.[21] When it was shod on its 'hands and feet'[22], the shoe had to be fastened with 8 nails on each. Shab-diz ate the same food which Khusru Parvīz ate. When the horse died they sculptured his features in stone."[23]

4. *Shīhīn.*

The next rare and valuable possession of Khusru was Shīrīn. The story of Khusru and Shīrīn has been the subject of the poetical writings of more than one Persian poet. Ṭabarī speaks of her as "a girl (*kanizak*) named Shīrīn than whom no Turkish or Arab person had a more beautiful and comely face. This Shīrīn was one, of whom Farhād was enamoured and for whom he excavated and broke the mountain of Bīsatūn. Each piece of stone which Farhād broke from the mountain was so large

20 Zotenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 304. The way in which Ṭabarī gives his account may possibly make one doubtful, whether to take this as a separate possession.

21 Constantinople.

22 Dast va pai. The front feet are spoken of as hands.

23 I have translated this from Naval Kishore's edition of Ṭabarī p. 360 11. 1-3. According to the Text which Zotenberg has followed, Ṭabarī said that the sculpture stood at Kirmanshah upto his time (Hijrī 224 to 310; A.C. 838 to 922). Masūdī also

that 10 men, nay even 100, could not lift up and these (stones) are still lying there now (lit even to-day that is so)." [24]

Parvīz possessed a Treasure called Bād-vard (*i.e.*, carried away by the wind).[25] It is said that the King of Roum was sending to Abyssinia his immense treasure for safety as a powerful enemy was about to invade his country. Adverse winds wafted the boats, about 1,000, carrying the treasures to the shores of Persia and Khusru seized them. We find from our above brief historical account that this Bādward (wind-carried) treasure was the treasure which Heraclius was stealthily sending away from Constantinople to Africa. Ṭabarī says that the adverse winds carried the treasure boats to "the shores of Oman in the territories of Persia." But from the brief history of Persia and Rome during

5. *The Treasure known as Bādvard.*

says the same thing. He says: "C'est le cheval qu'on voit sculpté sur le montagne de Kermasin" (Kirmanchah). Masūdī speak of the horse as Shabdār شبدار (Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard II, pp. 215-16). Mas'ūdī gives the following story about the horse: Once when the king was riding on it, the rein broke. He sent for the master of his equippage and was going to cut off his head to punish him for his negligence in not looking well after the saddle of the horse, when the man said: "Sire, nothing can stand against the king of men and against the king of horses," meaning thereby that it was the strength of the horse and the rider which led to violent riding and brought about the breaking of the reins. This was indirectly a compliment to the king and to his horse. The king was pleased and gave him his life. According to Gibbon, his two favourite horses were "Shebdiz and Barid" (*Op. cit.*, III, p. 251). The sculpture forms a part of the well-known sculptures of Taq-i Boatān. (After writing the above I had the pleasure of visiting this sculpture during my tour in Persia *via* Russia. *Vide* my book of Travels (મારી મુંબઈ બહારની સેહેલ ૧૯૨૬) p. 357).

[24] *i.e.*, in the time of Ṭabarī. I have followed Naval Keshore's Text, p. 360 l. 4. Local tradition, even now, connects Farhād with Bīsatūn, but the Inscription on the Mount shows that the sculptures belonged to Darius. *Vide* my Books of Travels (*op, cit.* pp. 363-368), published since writing above.

[25] I give an account of this and some subsequent remarkable things on the authority of Zotenberg (*Op. cit.* II, p. 305.). Naval Kishore's abridged text does not refer to them. The word Bād-vard may be taken either as باد برد, *i.e.*, carried by wind or باد آورد, *i.e.*, brought by wind.

these times which we have traced above, it appears that Ṭabari is wrong in saying that the treasure was wafted to the sea or gulf of Oman. Gibbon, who seems to speak resting on other authorities, is right in saying that it was wafted into one of the Syrian ports possessed by Persia.[26]

Khusru possessed 50,000 horses, camels and mules, out of which he had 8,000 for his own personal use. Now the mere possession of a large number of horses, &c.—and in fact the number is not unusually large—should not make it a rare possession. So, a further statement of Mas'ūdī on the subject makes the point clear. He says: "His stable included 50,000 horses or beasts of burden; all the horses which formed his cortege had a saddle of gold enriched with precious stones and pearls."[27]

6. *Khusru's Valuable Stable.*

He possessed 1,000 elephants.[28] Mas'ūdī[29] explains as to what the rarity in this possession was. He says that the elephants were whiter than snow, some of them were 12 cubits[30] in height. He adds that this height is very rare for war-elephants, the average being between 9 and 10 cubits and that the kings of India paid very high prices for any elephant of greater height than the above average. He adds in passing that the elephants of *zanj* (زنج) have still higher statures. Their tusks at times weigh 150 to 200 maunds (من), each maund weighing two ratals (رطل) *i.e.* pounds of Bagdad. Mas'ūdī further adds that when

7. *Possession of 1,000 Elephants.*

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26 Gibbon (*Op. cit.* III, p. 251) thus refers to this treasure of Badvard: "The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk and aromatics, were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber *Bada-verd* denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival."

27 I translate from the French of Barbier de Meynard's Maçoudi Vol. II, p. 230. Masūdī speaks of Khusru Parvīz as ابرویز which Barbier de Meynard reads as Eberviz. I think Mas'ūdī read the izafat of the words Khusru-i Parviz with the last word which he read Barviz instead of Parviz.

28 Gibbon says: "Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the great king." (*Op. cit.* III, p. 251.)

29 Barbier de Meynard, *op, cit.* II, 230.

30 *i.e.*, about 18 ft.

the king reviewed his army, these 1,000 elephants, when they passed before him, lowered their heads and folded their trunks and remained in that posture till their drivers drew their ropes and said some words in their Indian language. The king often regretted that the elephants were not the products of Persia. He admired much their intelligence. [31]

8. *Khusru's Maid-servants.*

Khusru had twelve thousand women, both free and slave, serving as maid-servants in his palaces.[32]

9. *A stable of 12,000 camels.*

He possessed 12,000 white camels. Gibbon[33] says on this subject: "His tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels and eight thousand of a smaller size."

10. *A Towel of Malleable Gold.*

One of the rarest things possessed by Khusru was a handkerchief for cleaning his hands, made out of malleable gold, *i.e.*, gold which was extended by beating into very thin sheets. When the handkerchief got dirty, it was thrown into fire where it did not burn and got its dirty stains and spots cleared.

11. *Two distinguished Musicians at his Court.*

He had at his Court distinguished musicians like Bārboud and Sargash. We do not find any account of these musicians in Ṭabarī, but we learn the following from Firdausī: There was a musician of the name of Sargash. He was happy (or joyous) in music. He invoked blessings upon the king in his song (or on his musical instrument *rūd*) and gave many benedictions to the Emperor. Great men threw jewels over him (*i.e.*, were much pleased with him) and called him Farr-i Buzorgi, *i.e.*, 'the

31 Mas'ūdī adds his own admiration of the size, intelligence, docility and patience of the Indian elephants. He says they have a tact of discerning the desires of their masters and they distinguish a king from others. Zanj seems to be Zanzibar.

32 Gibbon says: "The service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves." In this number, there were "three thousand virgins, the fairest of Asia." (Gibbon, *op. cit.* III, p. 251).

33 *Op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 251.

splendour of greatness.'[34] I have given above my own translation of Firdausi. As my translation and other translations[35] all differ a little, I give here the lines in the original to enable students to form their own opinion.

یکی مطربی بود سرگش بنام
برامشگری در شده شاد کام
همی آفرین خواند سرگش برود
شهنشاه را داد چندی درود
بزرگان برو گوهر افشاندند
که فر بزرگیش میخواندند

Firdausī then says that in the 28th year of Khusru's reign (618 A. C.) Bārbad, a great singer, came to the court of Persia. Sargash who commanded great influence in the Court, hearing of his arrival got a little afraid, lest the singing of this new-comer, who had made his name outside the court, would undermine his influence with the king, and tried to keep him out of the Court, even going to the length of bribing the chamberlain for that purpose. We further learn from Firdausī that this Bārbad was a foreigner. He went to the court of Khusru from his own country (*ze keshvar beshud tā ba dargāh-i-shāh*). Thus it seems that both these singers were foreigners. Sargash was a Christian divine and Bārbad also may be a Christian bishop.

As to this musician Sargash (سرگش), I think, that he was the same as the St. Sergius of the Western writers. We know that there was a martyr named St. Sergius to whom Khusru was attached. Gibbon refers to some preliminary inclination of the king towards Christianity, the result of the influence of Maurice whom he calls his "adopted father," and then says: "The imaginary conversion of the king of Persia was reduced to a local super-

[34] Macan's (Calcutta ed.), Vol. IV, p. 2008. Mohl (small ed.), Vol. VII, p. 259.

[35] *Vide* the small edition of M. Mohl's French Translation, Vol. VII, p. 255. Warner's Vol. VIII, p. 397. Dastur Minocheher's Vol. IV, p. 504. Kutar Brothers' Vol. IX, p. 78.

stitious veneration for Sergius, one of the saints of Antioch, who heard his prayers and appeared to him in dreams; he enriched his shrine with offerings of gold and silver, and ascribed to his invincible patron, the success of his arms, and the pregnancy of Sira, a devout Christian, and the best beloved of his wives. The beauty of Sira or Schirin, her wit, her musical talents, are still famous in the history or rather in the romance of the east." [37] So, I think that the Sargash of the Oriental writers is no other than Bishop Sergius. Again, let us take a note of what Firdausī says of Sargash's song. He recited in his song benedictions and blessings. Again, I think, that the title Farr-i Buzargi referred to by Firdausī is a rendering of something like "His Reverence." All these facts lead me to conclude that Sargash and Sergius were the same persons.

12. *A Rich Carpet.*

We saw above, that in one place (Chap. 55 of Zotenberg) Ṭabarī has referred to eleven rare things or events connected with the name of Khosru Parvīz. He has referred to them under the head of Khusru's treasures, "ses richesses," as said by Zotenberg on the authority of his text of Ṭabarī. But we find, that Ṭabarī has referred to a twelfth rare rich thing in another part of his work in his account of the defeat of the last Sassanian monarch Yazdagard. While describing all the teasures that fell into the hands of the Arabs, he thus describes a carpet which fell into their hands and which he names "the Spring of Khusru: [38]

اندر خزانه فرشی یافتند سیصد ارش بالا اندر و شصت ارش پهنا و آنرا دستانی خواندند و ملکان عجم آنرا باز کردندی و بران نشستندی بدان وقت که اندر جهان سبزی نمانده بود و هر ده ارش ازان بگوهرهای دیگر بافته و ده ارش زمرد سبز و ده ارش بگوهر سفید و ده ارش یاقوت سرخ و ده ارش یاقوت کبود و ده ارش یاقوت زرد و هرکس که بدان اندر

37 *Op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 238.

38 Zotenberg, op. cit. III, p. 417.

نگریستی پنداشتی که پری زاد است و از اندرون آن همه گوهرها بدان در نشانده بودند و شکل هر چیزی که اندر جهان اسیر آب و گل است و سبزیهای آن دروی نگارده بودند سعد رضی الله عنه آنرا بنزدیک عمر رضی الله عنه فرستاد..... و چون بمدینه رسید عمر رضی الله عنه بفرمود تا آنها را اندر مسجد بنهادند[39]

Translation.—In his treasures, they found a carpet 300 cubits long and 60 cubits broad. They called it Dastān. The kings of Persia spread it and sat on it at the time when there was nothing green in the world (*i.e.*, in winter.) On every 10 cubits of it, they had woven different jewels and on 10 cubits green emeralds; on 10 cubits white jewels; on 10 cubits red rubies; on 10 cubits blue rubies: on 10 cubits yellow rubies. Whoever looked on it thought that it was fairy-born (*i.e.*, fairy-made). In it, jewels were set in, and pictures of all things which grow on earth and water and all green plants were woven in it. S'ad, on whom there may be the peace of God, sent it to Omar—may the peace of God be upon him . . And when it arrived at Madineh, Omar—may the peace of God be upon him—ordered that all that should be placed in the Masjid.

Firdausī's Account of Carpet.

I think, it is this carpet, which Firdausī describes at some length, in his account of the reign of Khusru. It is after his account of the throne Tākdis that he refers to it. He says (I give my translation):

Translation.—A gold embroidered cloth was spread (over the throne). Its length was 57 hands.[40] All its strings were woven with jewels and it was woven with golden threads. The Signs of Heaven were marked on it (such as) Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the brilliant Moon, which all declared the good or the evil (fortune) of the king. Again, it has pictures of the seven regions, of the peasants and of the battles of heroes.

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39 Munshi Naval Keshore's Text of Ṭabarī, p. 483 l.10.

40 The measure is uncertain, but بالا is used in the sense of "the upper hand" (Steingass).

Again there were portraits of forty-seven (preceding) kings with their (decorated) hands, crowns and thrones. The crown of kings was woven with gold and there never existed in the world a piece of cloth like this. There was a matchless man in China and he had woven the cloth during seven years. In the beginning of the new year, on the day Hormazd, (month) Farvardīn he came before the King of the land of Iran. He carried the carpet which was worthy of the Kaës (or the Kayānian kings) before the king. The great men (of the court) made way for him. He spread the carpet on the New Year day. The King was overjoyed with pleasure. He assembled his court in that capital and he sent for players of music and wine there.[41]

We find from the above account of Ṭabarī that the carpet was sent with other treasures by the Arab general S'ad who captured Ctesiphon to Khalif Omar and that Omar placed it in the Masjid at Medinah. [42] It is this carpet to which M. Blocket refers, as said in the commencement of this paper. It was spread on the throne Tāqdis, referred to above.

Having described the 12 rare things as referred by Ṭabarī, we will now refer to some rarities referred to by other writers.

13. *A Set of Seals.*

According to Maṣūdī [43] Khusru Parvīz possessed a set of nine seals of a rare kind. Maçoudi gives a pretty detailed description of them and refers to the different purposes for which they were used. I give below a table describing briefly the seal and its use.

	Description.	*Use.*
1.	A Diamond with a bezel of red ruby engraved with a portrait of the king.	For letters and diplomas.

41 Macan IV, p. 2007, l. 20, Kutar Brothers X p. 77.

42 This event of sending the carpet to the Holy place reminds us of the present annual event of sending a carpet to the Holy city by the Khedive of Egypt. Perhaps this event was the origin or precursor of the modern annual event.

43 Masūdi, par Barbier de Meynard, op. cit. II, p. 228.

2.	Gold surmounted with a cornelean stone with a legend *Khorassan Khoreh* (خراسان خرہ).	For State archives.
3.	Gold ornamented with onyx with the portrait of a galloping rider with the legend "Rapidity."	For postal correspondence.
4.	Gold with a bezel of rose-coloured ruby with the legend "Wealth is the source of prosperity."	For diplomas and Letters of Indulgences.
5.	Ruby of the *bahrmān* (بہرمان) species, the best of the red, pure, valuable kind with the legend *khoureh va khurram* (خرہ و خرم) *i.e.*, splendid and auspicious. This was encased in pearls and diamonds.	For sealing treasures of precious stones, royal caskets and wardrobe and crown ornaments.
6.	One with a bezel of Chinese Iron representing an Eagle.	For sealing despatches to foreign rulers.
7.	One surmounted with a bezoar with a fly engraved on it.	For sealing the dishes, medicine and perfumery intended for the king.
8.	One with a bezel of pearls with the effigy of the head of a pig.	For marking the necks of persons who were condemned to death and judicial decisions sentencing prisoners for capital punishment.
9.	Of Iron.	Used when the king retired for his bath.

I think that the palace which Khusru built and to which Firdausī refers at some length under a separate heading, entitled *Aiwān sākhtan-i Khusru dar Madāyan, i.e.*, the building of a palace at Madāyan (Ctesiphon) by Khusru, should be taken as one of the 18 great things or events of the reign of Khursu. According to Firdausī, [43a] he had sent for architects and artists from Roum, India, China and other countries to build this palace. He collected 3,000 masons and other artizans. Over these 3,000, he set 30 as superiors and over these thirty there were three—two Roumi or Byzantine and one Parsi, *i.e.*, Persian, who were placed at the head of all. Then again, out of these three, one Byzantine was made the chief architect. This architect whose name was Fargāna laid the foundation, 10 royal *rash i.e.*, 15 feet deep and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. After filling up the foundation and the upper structure of plinth, he got some measurements taken and got the measuring tape duly marked placed in the treasury of the king. He then, with the view that the foundation may be set properly, asked to postpone the work of superstructure. But the king wanted him to proceed with the work. The architect thought that there was danger of the foundation sinking and that the foundation must be allowed to set properly. But, when he found that the king was impatient, rather than run the risk of building a grand palace which may sink, he quietly left the court and fled to his country. The king got angry and asked other experts to proceed with the work but none undertook the risk of sinkage by proceeding with the work at once. The king got disheartened and left off the idea of proceeding with the work till another good architect was found. None capable to carry on the work could be found. So, no work was done for three years. The first Byzantine architect turned up again in the fourth year and explained the state of affairs to the king. He sent for the tape with the previous measurement, referred to above, from the treasury, and, measuring the foundation, plinth, &c., showed to the king that the

14. *The Palace of Khusru at Madayan.*

[43a] Mohl small Edition VII, p. 260. Macan (IV p. 2011) gives the heading of the subject as "Sākhtan-i Khusrū Shehr-i Madāyan rā." Kutar Brothers, Vol, X, p. 81.

foundation had sunk a little, that after three years' postponement it had properly set itself, and that there was no risk of proceeding with the work now. The architect then took seven years to complete the work. The palace so constructed was an unique work of art.

It seems that notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the architect to do the work slowly in order to let the foundation set properly, the palace twice suffered damage during the very life time of the King. According to Ṭabarī (Chapter 56, entitled *Mujizāt-i Hazrat Paegambar* i.e., The Miracles of the Prophet), the fall of a part of one of the vaults of the palace of Ctesiphon, was taken to be a miracle in connection with the new religion of the Arab prophet intended, to show to Khusru, that he was wrong in not acknowledging the prophet.

The above 14 things or events present to us a splendid view of the grandeur and splendour of the Court of Khusru Parvīz. Gibbon, while speaking of the luxurious life of Khusru at Ctesiphon and at Artaima, spoken of as Dastgard by oriental writers, thus refers to some of the remarkable things named in our above list.

Gibbon and Malcolm on the Riches of Khusru.

"Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the great king: his tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels, and eight thousand of a smaller size; and the royal stables were filled with six thousand mules and horses, among whom the names of Shebdiz and Barid are renowned for their speed or beauty. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves, the fairest of Asia . . . . . The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk and aromatics, were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber Badaverd denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls, the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble, and plated wood, that supported the roof; and a thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and constellations of the Zodiac." [44]

[44] Vol. III, p. 251 (ed. of 1844.)

Malcolm, in his *History of Persia* thus speaks of Khusru's luxury and magnificence. "(*a*) His noble palaces, of which he built one for every season; (*b*) his thrones, which were invaluable, particularly that called Takh-dis, formed to represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the hours of the day; (*c*) his treasures[45]; (*d*) his ladies, of whom there were twelve thousand every one, if we believe the gravest Persian writers, equal to the moon in splendour and beauty; (*e*) his horses, of which fifty thousand stood in the royal stables; (*f*) his twelve hundred elephants; (*g*)his Arabian[46] charge Shub-Deez, fleeter than the wind; (*h*) his enchanting musician, Bārbud; (*i*) above all, the incomparable Shereen, with whom he was distractedly in love; are subjects on which a thousand volumes have been written by his countrymen. Although the magnificence of this prince has been much exaggerated, we may conclude, that no monarch ever lived in greater luxury and splendour. His reign for more than thirty years was marked by a success never surpassed by the most renowned of his ancestors." [47]

The nine remarkable possessions referred to by Malcolm in the above passage are contained in our above list given on the authority of Ṭabarī. It seems that when Malcolm wrote this, he had the work of Ṭabarī before him.

15. *The Palace of Khusru at Mashita.*

One can name the Palace of Mashita in Moab, situated on the table-land on the east of the Dead Sea, as one of Khusru's rich rare possessions. Its exterior was ornamented with beautiful sculpture on the stone surface. The designs of this palace are believed to be presenting "an evident link between Assyrian and Byzantine art."[48] . . . . . "Among the Mashita

45. "One of these treasures was called Badawerd or "The Gift of the Winds," because it had been cast upon his territories when conveying to the Roman Emperor." Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 126. Malcolm is wrong in this observation, as said above.

46. According to Ṭabarī, as said above, it was a charger from Roum (i.e., Constantinople.)

47. Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 125-26 2nd ed. of 1829.

48. W. Morris and Prof. Middleton in the article on "Mural Decoration" in the *Encyclopœdia Britannica* (9th Ed.) Vol. XVII, p. 35, col. 1.

carvings occurs that oldest and most widely spread of all forms of Aryan ornament—the sacred tree between two animals. The sculptured slab over the 'lion gate' at Mycenae has the other common variety of this motive—the fire-altar between the beasts. These designs, occasionally varied by figures of human worshipper instead of the beasts, survived in a most extraordinary way long after their meaning had been forgotten."[48a]

16. *Conquests of Egypt.*

I think that Khusru's conquest of the country round Constantinople and Jerusalem may be taken as the remaining three remarkable principal things or events of the reign of Khusru. As to Egypt, it had long remained under the sway of the Roman Empire. As said by Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole,[49] Egypt, "remote from the great conflicts that destroyed the Western Empire, and threatened the existence of the Eastern, had enjoyed uninterrupted freedom from an invader since its conquest of Zenobia[50] and had known no rebellion since that of Achilleus."[51] So, its fall when attacked by Khusru in 616 A.C. may naturally be considered as a great event.

17. *Conquest of Chalcedon.*

When Emperor Maurice of Rome was treacherously killed by the tyrant Phocas, who succeeded him in 602 A.C. Khusru assumed the role of a protector of Maurice's deposed son Theodosius who had sought refuge in his court. Again Narses, who ruled over the country round Edessa, asked his help against Phocas. So, when Phocas sent his ambassadors in 604 A.C. to the Court of Persia to announce his accession, Khusru imprisoned the ambassadors and declared war. The war lasted long, and, as said by Prof. Nöldeke, Khusru "for 20 years laid the Roman lands open to such ravages as had never before been known; so helpless was the

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48*a*. Ibid. Vol. XVII, col. 1. n. 1.

49 Article on Egypt. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th Ed.) Vol. VII. p. 748.

50 Zenobia was the queen of Palmyra. She came to power in A.C. 266. She claimed to be the queen of the East and invaded Syria and Egypt.

51 Achilleus had assumed the title of Emperor rebelling against Diocletian and ruled over Egypt for some time till overthrown and put to death by Diocletian in A.C. 296.

empire under the bad rule of Phocas and through the pressure of Avars and other barbarians. Khosrau was present at the taking of Dara (604 A.C.)..... After a few years, the Persian armies were seen as far west as Chalcedon against Constantinople."[52] Thus, this great event of curbing the power of Rome, in a way never experienced before, should assuredly be considered a remarkable event of Khusru's reign.

18. *Conquest of Jerusalem.*

The conquest of Jerusalem and the capture of the very cross on which Christ was crucified was an event which surprised the whole Christendom, and so, it can easily be taken as a remarkable event in the reign of Khusru. Khusru took it in 614 A.C. and he is said to have burned some of the churches and sepulchres. This conquest of Jerusalem and capture of the Holy Cross must have been considered a great remarkable event by the Persians, especially because they believed that the inclination of Khusru in the early years of his reign was in favour of Christianity. The Zoroastrian courtiers of the King did not like his being too much under the influence of Christian bishops and Christianity.

We know from oriental writers, that the Zoroastrian courtiers at one time, resented the king putting on the royal robe presented to him by his Christian father-in-law Maurice, because it carried the symbol of Cross and other Christian symbols. Again, we know that at one time, when the Zoroastrian prayer of grace was recited by a Zoroastrian courtier—according to one authority, it was the king himself who was reciting it—at a dinner given in honour of a Roman ambassador, the ambassador objected to the recital, saying that a Zoroastrian ritual should not take place in the presence of a Christian ambassador. The quarrel that rose between the Christian ambassador and the Zoroastrian courtier would have ended in bloodshed, had it not been for the Roman wife of Khusru who persuaded the ambassador, who in this case was one of her own brothers, to give way. Thus, under all these circumstances, the capture of Jerusalem and its Holy Cross may have been taken as a remarkable

52 Prof. Noldeke in his Article on Persia (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Ed., Vol. 18, p. 614).

event of Khusru's reign by his people. Gibbon speaks of the capture of the Cross as "the ruin of the proudest monument of Christianity." On the subject of the capture of Jerusalem and of the Holy Cross we read the following in Gibbon's History: [53]

"The conquest of Jerusalem, which had been meditated by Nushirvan was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson; the ruin of the proudest monument of Christianity was vehemently urged by the intolerant spirit of the Magi; and he could enlist, for this holy[54] warfare, an army of six and twenty thousand Jews, whose furious bigotry might compensate, in some degree, for the want of valour and discipline. After the reduction of Galilee, and the region beyond the Jordon, whose resistance appears to have delayed the fate of the capital, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault. The sepulchre of Christ, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine, were consumed, or at least damaged, by the flames; the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zachariah, and the *true cross* were transported into Persia."

Sir P. Sykes speaks of this seizure of the "True Cross" as "an act which moved Christendom to its depths." [55] Firdousi describes a letter of the Roman Emperor to Khusru requesting the return of the Holy Cross and Khusru's letter politely refusing that request. [56]

The Arab Prophet's Prophecy in connection with the capture of Jerusalem.

History tells us that the victory of Khusru in Jerusalem was short-lived. The new Roman Emperor Heraclius undid all that Khusru had done. According to Ṭabarī, prophet Muhammad had prophesied this turn of affairs, and this prophecy has been taken as one of the many miracles accompanying the advent of the Prophet in Khusru's reign. According to this author, during the 20th year of the reign of Khusru Parvīz the Prophet began preaching at Mecca. He fled to Medina at the end of the 30th year. There was hardly a day since

53 The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ed. of 1844, Vol. III. p. 249.

54 One cannot understand well, why Gibbon should call this warfare "holy" on the part of the Persians, as this was not a religious war against the Romans as Christians.

55 Persia (1922) p. 40.

56 Macan's Edition, Vol. IV, pp. 1992-98. Mohl's small edition, Vol. VII, pp. 227-239.

the birth of the Prophet when God did not show evidences of his prophetic mission to Parvīz. Ṭabarī then describes[56] the following miracles of the Prophet which occurred at the court of Parvīz.

(*a*) The vaults of Khusru's palace of Madāin (Ctesiphon) fell down twice. Each time the reparation cost one million[57] dirhems. When Khusru asked of his astrologers the signification of this event, they told him that it portended the coming of a new religion.

(*b*) When once Khusru was crossing a bridge, it fell by the force of water and he just escaped falling. The reparation of the bridge cost 5,00,000 dirhems.

(*c*) Once, when Khusru was in his apartment, a person with a stick (*chūb*) in his hand came suddenly into his presence and said that Mahomed was a true prophet. He added "If you will not follow him I will destroy (lit. break up) your religion." He, on uttering these words, symbolically broke the stick.[58] This person was an angel who had come to warn Khusru.

(*d*) The people of Roum (the then Roman Empire, which had its capital in Constantinople, known at first as New Rome) conspired and killed their king Maurice, who had sent his son Theodosius to assist Khusru to regain his throne. Then they placed Phocas on the throne. Then on the representation of Theodosius, who reminded Khusru of what his father had done for him, Khusru sent a Persian army under Farroukhan to the help of Theodosius. At the same time, he sent another general Cadrān to invade Jerusalem. This general took the holy city and got possession of the Holy Cross which he sent to Parvīz. Parvīz placed it in his treasure.

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56 56th Chapt. according to Zotenberg. The Persian version of Ṭabarī heads this chapter as معجزات حضرت پیغامبر (Naval Keshore's Text, p. 360).

57 The Persian version gives the figure as one hundred thousand.

58 گر بدو نگروی من دین ترا بشکنم و آن چوبرا بشکست

(Naval Keshore's Text, p. 360 l.12). This version further on says that the people of Persia were not taken to be the people of the book :—

(Ibid l. 14):—میگفتند اهل عجم اهل کتاب نیستند

The supporters of the prophet had taken a wager on the subject of the result of the war and the prophet himself predicted a victory in the end for the Romans, and his prediction began to turn out successful with the advent of Heraclius (هرقل) on the throne of the Roman Empire.[59]

[59] Ṭabarī also describes an embassy of the Prophet to the Court of Khusru Parvīz. The Persian king tore off the letter from the Prophet, who on hearing the news, cursed the king saying: "He has torn asunder his own country" (او ملک خویش درید). Naval Keshore's Text, p. 361. l.10.

THE CRADLE OF INDIAN HISTORY

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CHAPTER I.

A View of It.

One of the acute cultural tastes developed in the present era is the historic sense. To satisfy this to the desired extent, in respect of the history of the Hindu race, the exhaustive study of the Vedic and Purāṇic literature is the primary step. Amidst the literature that holds out large promise of valuable material for the construction of this history, the Mahābhārata occupies a unique position, next only to that of the Vedas. While the Vedas record the prayers and praises of the ancient Brahmanic Ṛṣis, the Mahābhārata story turns round the ancient Kṣatriya characters; and any light that is incidentally thrown on the religious life of the times comes in only as auxiliary to the vicissitudes of the heroic life. The outstanding theme is Kṣatriya in character. This fact helps us a great deal in appreciating the value attached by the ancient Aryan culture to the active life of kings and heroes in preference to the secluded but none the less serious and serene life of the devout hymn-singers. Herein is exhibited an entirely human and worldly interest that the epic Mahābhārata and such other ancient Indian literature possesses for the lay reader as well as for the critical scholar and student of Indian history and civilisation.

In considering the several historic periods like the Pre-Vedic, Vedic and Purāṇic Aryan history, the question of the Aryan sense of time with the *yugas*, the *mahāyugas*, the *kalpas*, the *mahākalpas*, the *manvantaras* and so on, has to be taken into account.[1] No other

1 The Purāṇic story of creation mentions the 'birth' of the four Vedas as having happened after the birth of the Rudras, which took place in the Padmakalpa (Bhāg. 3. 22), and after the birth of the Prajāpatis of the Varāhakalpa, to which Svāyambhuva Manu belonged (ibid. 23).

race has attempted to such a degree as the Aryans of India to reduce into calculable sections the ceaseless and limitless current of Time. The Aryan—rather the Hindu—denotation of time in terms of *kalpas*, *manvantaras* and so forth, is unique and of much value to the student of history and human civilisation and progress in so far that it indicates the remote limits of the past which the Aryans with their historic instinct attempted to preserve. The Vedic and Purāṇic Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣis have been the custodians of this historic sense—nay, also the universal sense—which they kept alive in their memories in the forms of the *saṁkalpas* and the *mahāsaṁkalpas*,[2] which taking the individual as the centre, describe, as it were, the huge circle which includes within itself the time, place and purpose in and for which he lived from day to day at the bidding of God (Bhagavān).

Scientific study of evidences available and construction of history do not, logically speaking, consist, as is generally imagined nowadays, merely in the exposition of the archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic evidence only, since these do not reach effectively and satisfactorily the distant limits in the past to which, Literature and Tradition, better custodians, in some respects, of the nation's historic memories, extend. Who can reach or count the sub-strata of monumentary relics that have undergone submergence, layer over layer, with the passage of Time? The topmost layer of the monuments is at best only a partial evidence for the last chapter of the history of the nation.

Basing entire authority on such latter-day evidence, Western authors have begun tracing the "early" history of India from the time of Alexander's campaigns. To the modern Western nations, whose historical beginnings do not reach beyond the fourth or the fifth century A. D., a better conception of the history of India seems evidently impossible. These authors, coming as they do from nations of recent growth, and writing this history with motives other than cultural—which in some cases are apparently racial—and prejudicial to the correct elucidation of the past history of India, cannot acquire testimony for historic veracity or cultural sympathy. It seems necessary and vital in this connection to raise the point

2 The *mahāsaṁkalpa* brings out this outlook of the Aryan mind fully.

whether a work presuming to be an "Early History of India" but starting only with Alexander's campaign is scientifically conceived and with true historic instinct. Early Indian history, rather than beginning at about 327 B.C., strictly speaking ended some centuries even prior to it. Alexander's military visit to India and Porus's compromise with him bespeak only a fallen India. At this period the martial and constructive greatness of India had come to an ebb. The contemporary Nandas and the subsequent Mauryas were only like lamps in the night of this non-Kṣatriya period in the history of Bhāratavarṣa. To the national historians of the country, namely, the authors of the Purāṇas and to the careful scholars of its history, namely, the students of the Vedic hymns, of the Brāhmaṇas, the Sūtras, the Purāṇas and such literature, the bright period in the history of the Aryans and the Bhāratīyas and of their civilisation appeared to have ended with the disappearance of the ancient Kṣatriya families of the land, with whose dim or bright careers were inseparably bound up the decadence or prosperity of the true heroism and wisdom of India, respectively the arts of her kings and her ṛṣis. Even late Pre-Mauryan India was in this respect a blank, unlighted by the glorious deeds of the Kṣatriyas of the period that had ended long before. To Hanumān even the Bhārata period was a time of physical and moral degeneration compared with the time of Rāma.[3] Moreover, even the Kṣatriya races found in the Purāṇas were only regenerations made by the Brahmanic Ṛṣis when the still earlier and purer Kṣātra blood had degenerated.[4] Therefore a truly historic sense must satisfy itself in tracing with a critical and sympathetic eye and determining thereby the historic background of the various authorities, especially the hymns, the epics and other Purāṇas together with the Kāvyas, utilising the archaeological and allied data only for the late period for which they are evidences. History, to be true, scientific, open-minded, educative and constructive, must make a considerable but judicious use of the historic memories of the nation embodied in the literature of the country and its tradition. It is cowardly scholarship to fight shy of the stupendous literature of

[3] Mbh. Āraṇyakap. 151.
[4] Ibid. Ādip. 75. 27.

India and decry, in the name of modern criticism, this unapproached volume of evidence as purely mythological and dismiss it as entirely valueless for purposes of history.

The true mission of the historian consists, in the first instance, in inquiring into the origin and significance of the vast tradition and mythological literature of the nation with reference to its antiquity. Nations or communities of recent origin and growth could not naturally come to possess long vistas of tradition or vast fields of mythology; nor could they lay any claim to a possession of epics of extraordinary bulk and manifold character. The longer the stream of the tradition and mythology of a nation the greater its antiquity. Indian Vedic and Purāṇic literature is comparable to the ocean which, in the words of Kālidāsa, is both attractive on account of its pearl wealth and awful with its shoals, whirls and hollows. The collection of the pearls of historic truth from this ocean and making up the string of a connected account is the interesting but none the less arduous task of the future historian of India.

The history of the Vedic Aryans, who formed the seed of the Hindu race, has its roots in the life of the Devas, whose deeds are praised and recorded in the Vedic hymns by the Ṛṣis. But much earlier literature must have been superseded by these new Ṛks which should have incorporated most of the material contained in it. This earlier literature might have been in the form of *gāthās* and *gītas*, *i.e.*, lays and songs. The beginnings of these hymns do not seem to have reached the very origin of this society. The fact that the first few hymns of the Ṛgveda are the compositions of Ṛṣi Madhucchandas, the son of Viśvāmitra, suggests that prior to the time of Viśvāmitra there existed no Ṛgveda in the present form. It cannot therefore be concluded that absolutely no literature of the hymn or other nature existed in Pre-Viśvāmitra period.

The deities (Devatās) Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and so on, invoked in these hymns have been taken by some scholars to be personifications of the forces of nature. A careful study of the epics and of the Vedic hymns, in the light of the less obscure epics raises a suspicion whether the deities are only personifications of natural phenomena or deifications of great and beneficent personalities

which are known as "apotheoses." It would be consistent with the rude beginnings of human understanding, mentality and instinct of self-preservation that appreciates kindness and beneficence and perpetuates and honours the names of such personalities, to suppose that great and victorious leaders in war, conquering kings, and benefactors would strike the imagination of the primitive Pre-Vedic people during their glorious life on earth here and indelibly remain on their memories even after quitting the mortal frame. It would be quite natural for these people to gain strength and inspiration by meditating upon them and to identify them also with the forces of nature that manifested themselves as beneficent as well as destructive. When the Vedic Aryan invoked Indra to give him rain, he did it only in imitation of his ancestor, the Pre-Vedic man; who had learnt to call the "raining force" by the name "Indra," which was either the title or the name of the first victorious or beneficent lord of his community. [5] Not all the epithets applied to Indra suggest his phenomenal nature. The expression "Indra" is traced from the root *ind*, which signifies "lordship" (*aiśvarya*). We may note here that the Goddess of Prosperity, *i.e.*, Lakṣmī, is called Indirā. The Puranic depiction of Indra is more personal than phenomenal and we have no reason to assign to him in the Vedic references a *purely* phenomenal nature. He is a son of Aditi and so one of the Ādityas. His surname Vāsava denotes that he was a descendant of one of the Vasus or we might rather say that one of the Indras was the son of a Vasu.

In this connection it will not be out of place to quote Donald A. Mackenzie on a precisely similar question, namely, the value of Homer for the historian of the Greek race. Referring to the interpretation of the Homeric legends given by scholars like Max Müller Grote, and Cox as "products of traditional myths based upon

5 This instinct of devotion is manifested in the habit of the true Vaiṣṇava seeing the spirit of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa in every atom of the Universe and every force that is manifested therein; cf. the saying "sarvaṁ Viṣṇumayaṁ jagat"; and the ancient Ṛk, Nārāyaṇaṁ mahājñeyaṁ viśvātmānaṁ parāyaṇaṁ, Nārāyaṇaparaṁ Brahma-tattvaṁ Nārāyaṇaḥ paraḥ, Nārāyaṇaparo jyotirātmā Nārāyaṇaḥ paraḥ, yac ca kiñcij jagaty asmin dṛśyate śrūyatepi vā, antar bahiś ca tat sarvaṁ vyāpya Nārāyaṇaḥ sthitaḥ! (*Vaiṣṇava-mān trapuṣpam.*)

various phenomena of the earth and heavens" and the siege of Troy considered as a "repetition of the daily siege of the East by the solar powers that are robbed of their brightest treasures in the West", Mackenzie says "so was Greece robbed of its heroes and Troy swept out of existence." The above class of interpretations was characterised by Mr. Andrew Lang as "scholarly stupidity." The born archaeologist Schlieman wrote thus in 1878: "The Trojan war has for a long time been regarded by eminent scholars as a myth of which, however, they vainly endeavoured to find the origin in the Vedas. But in all antiquity the siege and conquest of Illium by the Greek army under Agamemnon was considered as an undoubted historical fact and as such it is accepted by the great authority of Thyucidides. The tradition has even retained the memory of many details of that war which have been omitted by Homer. For my part, I have always firmly believed in the Trojan War; my full faith in Homer and in the tradition has never been shaken by modern criticism and to this faith of mine I am indebted for the discovery of Troy and its treasure." There is hardly less justification for our placing equally good faith in the Indian tradition and literature. And we are already hearing an archaeological echo (though imperfectly interpreted yet) of Indian tradition from Harappa and Mahenjo Daro in the Panjab.

The Vedic lords and chiefs Indra and other Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras and so on were descended from Prajāpatis like Dakṣa, Kaśyapa, Kardama, and others, who also produced the Manus. It would thus appear that the patriarchs were the common ancestors of the Vedic Devas and the Asuras, the latter of whom were the predecessors of the Devas in the possession of power and ascendency and were hence called the Pūrva-Devas (*i.e.* the Early Lords.) The period of the Deva ascendancy was known by the appellation Devayuga, to which the Prajāpati Dakṣa, the father of Diti, Aditi, Kadrū, Vinatā and Devasenā belonged.[6] The Devas and Asuras were members of collateral branches descended from the brothers Marīci, Pulastya and Pulaha. Brahma's son, the Prajāpati Dakṣa is the progenitor of the chief Devas and Asuras. His daughter Aditi

[6] Mbh. Ādip. 16. 5.

gave birth to the twelve lords who are celebrated and invoked in the Vedic hymns and who are known by the general metronymic name Ādityas [7]. The most popular among these were Mitra, Aryaman, Śakra, Varuṇa, Vivasvant, Pūṣan, Savitṛ and Viṣṇu (surnamed Upendra). Diti, another daughter of Dakṣa gave birth to Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa [8], while his third daughter Danu [9] gave birth to many sons among whom figure the well-known enemy of Indra (namely, Namuci), the enemy of Pradyumna (*viz.*, Śambara), and Pulomā, whose daughter Paulomī alias Śacī was married to Indra.

Two other enemies of Indra, Bala and Vṛtra, were the sons of another daughter of Dakṣa named Danāyu who married Kaśyapa, who too was a Prajāpati (patriarch). The descendants of Danu and Danāyu were known by the metronymic name Dānavas. The other branch of the Asuras to which Rāvaṇa belonged was the progeny of Pulastya, a Prajāpati who was of the generation previous to Dakṣa's and to whom were born Agastya, Kubera and Rāvaṇa among others.[10] The other ancient tribes [11] known to Purāṇic literature as the Rākṣasas were also akin in nature to the Asuras and the Dānavas

7 They are also surnamed Āditeyas.

8 These two brothers are stated to have been the Ādi-Daityas; see Bhāg. 3. 17. 18.

9 The name of Danu as the ancestress of the early Gaelic tribe appears in Celtic myth and legend also. The Gaelic people are styled 'Tuata Te Danann', *i.e.*, 'Tribe or Folk of the Goddess Danu' (C. Squire, *Celtic Myth and Legend*, p. 48). Cannot the expression *tuata* be connected with the Skt. *suta* (son)?

10 Bhāg. 4. 1.

11 The Vidyādharī women appear as servants of queens and other high class women. Prasūti, the wife of Kardama-Prajāpati had them as servants (Bhāg. 3. 23. 37). The Upa-Devas are mentioned in the Bhāgavata (4. 3. 6). Śrīdhara, the commentator of the work, refers the expression to the Gandharvas. But it appears more reasonable to include among them the Yakṣas, the Kinnaras and other Devayonis. The Deva creation is said to have been of eight-fold nature (Bhāg. 3. 11. 27). It consisted of the Vibudhas, Pitṛs, Asuras, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Siddhas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Cāraṇas, Bhūtas, Pretas, Piśācas, Vidyādharas and Kinnaras. Of these the Gandharvas and the Apsaras are classed as one group, the Yakṣas and the Rākṣasas, as another, the Siddhas, the Cāraṇas and the Vidyādharas together as a third, and the Kinnaras and Kimpuruṣas as a fourth group. This grouping must have been based upon their original kinship.

and they too claimed descent from Pulastya. [12] From him were descended also the other Deva races like the Yakṣas and the Kinnaras.[12] The later clannish distinctions between the several communities are preserved in the systems of marriage named after them, *viz.*, the Brāhma, Daivata, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca. These distinctions are believed to have been recognised from the time of Manu Svāyambhuva. The Asuras too had their Dharma like the Devas and the Deva-Ṛṣis.[13] The Mahābhārata refers in some places to Dānavarṣis, (*i.e.*, Ṛṣis among the Dānavas). From the Prajāpatis were also descended the Manus, who, having presided over and governed with their wise laws, certain races of mankind, gave rise to the tribe-name Mānavas, which expression always appears in literature in reference to mankind generally in contradistinction to the Devas. This larger application of the term to the whole mankind is only a later usage.

The *manvantaras*, again, are not after all fictitious marks placed upon time but seem to have been carefully noted with an astronomic precision and celebrated from early times on certain fixed days of the year very much like the other national anniversaries. [14] The Manus who were also Prajāpatis (*i.e.*, lords of subjects) are stated to have been fourteen in number and the eras denoted after them are each called a *manvantara*. This had its own Devaganas (*i.e.*, ruling bodies), its Indra (their chief), the Saptarṣis (*i.e.*, the

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[12] Mbh. Ādip. 67. 7.

[13] Mbh. Ādip. 72. 14.

[14] The Svāyambhuva-manvādi anniversary falls on Kārtika śu. 12 about the 1st of November; the Svārociṣa-man° on Āśvija śu. 9 about Sept. 29th; the Uttama-man° on Caitra śu. 3 about 30th March; the Tāmasa-man° on Bhādrapada śu. 3 about 25th August; the Raivata-man° on Pauṣya śu. 11 about 29th December; the Chākṣuṣa-man° on Āṣadha śu. 9 about 3rd July; the Vaivasvata-man° on Māgh śu. 7 about 24th January; the Sūrya-Sāvarṇika-man° on Bhādrapada va. 8 about 24th Sept.; the Dakṣa-Sāvarṇika-man° on Kārtika śu. 15, about 4th November; the Brahma-Sāvrṇika-man° on Phālguna śu. 15 about the 3rd March; the Dharma-Sāvarṇika-man° on Āṣāḍha śu. 15, about 5th July; the Raucyaka-man° on Caitra śu. 15 about 15th April; the Indra-Sāvarṇika-man° or Deva-Sāvarṇika man° on Kārtika va. 5 about 5th November; and Bhautyaka-man° on Jyeṣṭha śu. 15 about 9th June.

Seven Ṛṣis or Wise Men)[15]. The *manutvam* or the position of a Manu devolved upon a person as a result of consecration to the honoured place of a ruler or governor of the community, as in the case of Manu Svārociṣa.[16] There were also recognised fourteen Indras,[17] which fact goes to prove that Indra was a class name or title referring to a functionary.

From the Manu Vaivasvata were descended the famous rulers of the so-called Sūrayavaṁśa (Solar dynasty). The popular idea that these kings were descended from the Sun seems to be based upon a confusion between the names Vivasvān as applied to the Sun as one who possesses *vivas*, i.e., *tejas* (light) and also to a son of Aditi, the ancestress of the Devas. Purāṇic genealogy traces the descent of these kings from the son of Āditya (son of Aditi) Vivasvān and called Vaivasvata Manu. Among the twelve Ādityas were Mitra, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, and Vivasvān, names which, in course of time, came to be applied to the Sun along with the term Sūrya, which was the original expression applied to the Sun. By indifferent application of synonymous expressions the Vaivasvata-vaṁśa has come to be called the Sūryavaṁśa, though its physical descent from the Sun could not be explained by any means.

Similar is the case with the kings of the so-called "Lunar" race. It should certainly never be possible to establish a physical descent of these kings from the Moon. The Moon was originally called Candra because of the quality of delighting (√ cand ; Dhp. āhlādayati). But among the sons of Atri, one of the primeval Ṛṣis was a Candra from whom these kings claimed descent. The epithet Candravaṁśa has thus to be traced to an animate being, the son of a Ṛṣi and not to a heavenly body like the Moon.

From the foregoing paragraphs it could be seen that the Devas

15 In ancient Greece also the Seven Wise Men were recognised. Bias, the son of Tentamidas, born at Priene, was one of them. He flourished about 566 B. C. The name bears astonishing resemblance to the name of Vyāsa (Byāsa as pronounced in N. India); and Priene appears like an echo of (Dvai) pāyana. The real significance of the term is that of an epithet either descriptive or titular.

16 See Śabdakalpadruma s.v. Manu.

17 Ibid. s. v. Indra.

were not mere imaginary symbolical beings or phenomena; that they were a race of people who had their existence on this hard earth, struggled with their kinsmen like the Dānavas, the Asuras, and the Rākṣasas and wrested the lordship of the earth from them assigning them to the position of the Pūrva-Devas; and that the so-called "Solar" and "Lunar" dynasties of kings were descended from animate beings but imagined as descendants of the heavenly bodies, the Sun and the Moon. The earlier members of these dynasties like Daśaratha of the Raghu race and Purūravas of the Candravaṁśa, who were lords of men, are stated to have helped the Indra, the lord of the Devas of their time, against his enemies, the Asuras and the Dānavas. The kings of the Mānavas, like Purūravas, and Yayāti, who are said to have belonged to the Kṛtayuga[18], had free access to the Deva and the Asura *lokas* (*i.e.*, countries) and even had matrimonial relationship with the Asuras, as between Yayāti and the Asura king Vṛṣaparva's daughter Śarmiṣṭhā. Yayāti drove into Vṛṣaparva's territory in his own chariot which indicates that their dominions lay very near each other. While on the one hand he had matrimonial relationship with the Asura princess, on the other, he had similar relationship with the Apsaras Viśvācī, with whom he visited such pleasure resorts as the Nandanavana, Alakā, the city of Kubera, near the Kailāsa and the summit of the Meru mountain, which were all situated near about the Deva territory, if not within it. The Asuras were not all of the ugly type in physique as the Rākṣasas are represented to be in literature, for example in the Rāmāyaṇa. They had among them beauties like Śarmiṣṭhā who struck Yayāti as a beauty unparalleled even among the Devas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras. Āstika, the *dauhitra* grandson of Yayāti, was already a friend of the Indra when he went to the Svarga in the company of Yayāti.

These were but a few of the alliances entered into between the Deva kings and the Mānava kings. Though such distinctions as the Deva and the Mānava were drawn in later stages, in the earlier stages there was close contact between the two races; while in still earlier period, at the dawn of their history they had common ancestry and kinship. Though the Asuras and the Devas came

[18] Mbh. Ādip. 84. 1.

from a common progenitor they were not so friendly with each other as the Devas and the Mānavas were. The Devas were the ideals of the Mānavas and much of the culture and civilisation of the latter were shaped after that of the former. Expressions like Deva-Nāgarī applied to a particular kind of script and Deva-Gāndhārī applied to a particular musical mode and a number of other expressions associated with Deva are reminiscent of the Deva influence on the Mānava culture.

It is therefore necessary to begin the history of India or the Hindu race with the patriarchal (*i.e.*, the prājāpatya)period and carry the account through the Āditya-Deva period, dealing with the nature and position of the Indra, Agni, Yama, Vasus, etc., noticing the relations, though hostile, these and certain other Deva characters had with the Asuras, the Dānavas and so on, and then describe the constructive and cumulative effect of their rule and the rule of the Puranic dynasties, till we finally reach the period of the Mauryas, so as to give a satisfactory and exhaustive history of India and its people. It would then be realised that the Maurya period was but the modern and not the "early" period of the history of the country, in view of the Pre-Vedic beginnings of it.

It is with this view-point that the indigenous literature of the race has to be studied and a connected account of it written on the lines of modern historical works. It would be hazardous and historic injustice to say with certain scholars that the Hindus, ancient or mediaeval, had no historic instinct in them. We must here pause to consider : what is it that permeates the whole mass of the Vedic hymns if not celebration of the heroic or beneficent nature of the Pre-Vedic characters that had come to be deified by the Vedic period ? What could be the motive, if not historic, in mentioning the several Asuras that were destroyed by these ? What is it if not historic sense that celebrates the glories of the great ancient characters like Viṣṇu, Śambhu, Pārvatī, etc., in the numerous *stotras* and *sahasranāmas* ? What is it if not historic veneration for the past that permeates the several Purāṇas ? Lastly, could we see anything other than the historic instinct in the undertaking of the great sage-poet Vyāsa to compose an incomparably monu-

mental work like the Mahābhārata, the main theme of which is quite a temporal one, being the description of the struggle between two branches of a far-famed royal house? The Rāmāyaṇa is an ideal biography, according to the Aryan conception, of an ideal son, husband, king and hero in a poetic setting which is unique in merit of conception and style. The Bhāgavata is another everlasting work, both in the nature of a history of the world as known to the ancient sages of India and a biography—a biography not of a single hero but 'of the Single and Supreme Hero (Puruṣa) and Spirit that descended upon the earth according to the needs of the time'. True, it is permeated by a devotional temper; but that does not take away any the least from the historic value of the work. History was the hand-maid of the self-culture, faith, devotion and idealism of the age to which these works belong and this conception of history probably suited the cultural demands of the age best. We should not quarrel with this ancient conception of history for even within our own generation the conception and presentation of history has been changing from decade to decade and a century hence our conceptions of history may not command the same devotion with which we cling to them now. To expect ancient histories to be in our modern forms is but a crude expectation to encompass within our smaller self the entire Universe, what it was, is and shall be. It is also want of historic sense to fail to appreciate the particular ideals of the particular ages and to condemn hastily, as mere fabrications, all the statements made about the very remote past in the national literature and tradition.

The virtue of greed for knowledge needs no apology. And it is but the humble hope and attempt of the author to suggest in the following chapters what points might be culled from the epic and the Puranic literature for a history of the Cradle of the Hindu race. Those presented here are not many and exhaustive but they will clearly show what possibilities there are of making up a history of the race from works like these studied on the lines suggested above. There should certainly be many pit-falls and imperfections in a maiden attempt like this:

Yatne kṛte yadi na sidhyati ko'tra doṣaḥ.

(*To be continued.*)

THE VILLAGE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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Village Administration as it existed in the Vedic and the post-Vedic period has been the subject-matter of many a treatise written by Western as well as Eastern scholars. The method adopted by a good many of these writers cannot be said to be entirely sound, inasmuch as chronological sequence of the material is not given its proper weight: evidence of various kinds is mixed up for supporting a preconceived thesis. These critics have drawn their material mostly from records like South Indian inscriptions and Smṛti works and have tried to show that one and the same system of village administration was prevalent in all parts of India. The evidence of South Indian inscriptions does indeed point to a certain form of autonomous government (so far as villages are concerned) or what we may call local self-government; but the villages in Northern India need not necessarily have been administered on the same lines as those adopted in Southern India.

This faulty method appears to me to vitiate many of the conclusions drawn by these writers. A fresh enquiry, therefore, may be instituted to investigate the true nature of village administration in those days, and in so doing, it is deemed expedient that the line of argument to be adopted should be at the outset clearly set forth. It is proposed in this short paper to collect Sanskritic evidence bearing on this topic, and to sift it so as to enable us to draw certain tentative conclusions, which may later on be proved as valid and in many respects sound.

First in order we may consider all references in the Vedic literature. They create an impression that there is no trace, in Vedic literature at least, of communal property in the sense of ownership by a community of any sort; nor is there any mention of communal cultivation.[1] The term Grāma is regularly contrasted with the term Araṇya (forest). Grāma is sometimes trans-

[1] *Vedic Index* I, p. 100.

lated as a body of men. Zimmer regards it as a clan standing midway between the family and the tribe, or it may be regarded as an aggregate of several families not forming a clan but only a part of a clan.[2] Yājñavalkya (Vyavahāra 167) says that the area of a village should be equal to four dhanus, each dhanus being equal to four hundred hastas. In the Śukranītī (I.191-2) Grāma is defined as that piece of land whose area is a krośa and whose yield is one thousand silver krasa. The half of a Grāma is called Palli and the half of a Palli is called Kumbha. It seems likely from these references that nothing definite about the actual size or the area of a Grāma can be deduced. At the most what we can say is that Grāma must have been the smallest unit consisting of cultivating owners, menials, Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Rathakāras and smiths, all alike politically subject to the king, whose share in a village is referred to in the Atharvaveda (IV. 22.2).

Having thus examined what Grāma stands for, let us turn to the important question affecting its administration. In order to find out whether the villages were autonomous or otherwise in those days, the evidence bearing on the constitution should be looked into and carefully arranged, as far as possible, in a strict order of chronology. From the Vedic down to the classical period Sanskrit works supply us with some material for this purpose. In the Rigveda[3] and other Saṁhitās it is said that at the head of a village was the Grāmaṇī, who was ranked as inferior to the Charioteer, with whom he is associated as one of the Ratnis, *i.e.*, jewels of the royal establishment. The post was valuable to a Vaiśya, who, if he attained it, was supposed to be at the summit of prosperity. He[4] seems to have been a nominee of the king. In Śatapatha Brāh. (VIII.7.16), Sūta and Grāmaṇī are specified as Rājakartṛs, who aid in the consecration of the king.[5] The king entrusted the local administration to the Grāmaṇī. Pañcaviṁśa Brāh. (XIX. 14) gives

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[2] R.V. I. 100. 10; III. 33. 11; X. 27. 1; 127. 5. A.V. IV. 7. 5; V. 20. 3; Śatapatha Br. IV. 1. 5. 2; IV. 7. 4. 9; XII. 4. 1. 3.

[3] Taittirīya Saṁhitā II 5. 4. 4. K. Saṁhitā VIII. 4; X.3. Śatapatha Brah. III. 4. 1. 7.

[4] Taitt. II. 5. 4. ग्रामाध्यक्षो ग्रामणीः.

[5] *Vedic Index* II, p. 214.

a list of eight Vīras constituting the king's entourage, namely, Purohita, Mahiṣī, Sūta, Grāmaṇī, Kṣattṛ, Saṁgrahītṛ, the king's brother and son. As to the interpretation of the expression Grāmakāmaḥ,[6] occurring in the later Saṁhitās, it may safely be said that it refers to the practice of the king's granting to his favourites his royal prerogatives over villages so far as fiscal matters were concerned.

Baden Powell[7] seems to hold that the village community was not a land-holding community, the family on the other hand must have been a land-holding unit. Then the term Grāmyavādin occurs in old literature and is referred to in the *Vedic Index* (p. 248). This must have been another officer like the Grāmaṇī appointed by the king to administer justice to the people of a particular village. The word Sabhā is mentioned many times in Vedic literature meaning an assembly. Zimmer maintains that the Sabhā was the meeting place of the village council. But as to who presided over this council must be left to conjecture in the absence of any definite statement justifying the opinion of Zimmer, who maintains as mentioned above that the village council was presided over by the Grāmaṇī. In the Vedic evidence adduced above there is nothing to show the existence of any form of autonomy prevalent in villages. Here and there some stray references to words like Grāmaṇī and Grāma do not give us an exact idea about village administration. If anything they point to something else than the autonomous and democratic form as it is understood to-day.

Before proceeding to examine the evidence offered by the Nīti literature directly bearing on the topic, it is in the fitness of things to take into consideration what Smṛti works reveal on the question of village constitution. The order followed here may not be correct from the viewpoint of chronology but, in general, we venture to say that Smṛti literature should come before the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and similar works. Baudhāyana (I. 10-18) is

[6] Maitrayaṇīya Saṁ. II. 1. 9. 2. 3; राज्ञ्य ग्रामकामं याजयेत्. Taitt. II. 1. 1. 2; 3. 2; 3. 9. 2.

[7] Cf. *Vedic Index* I, p. 128.

chosen as the first in rank. We are told here that the king should guard property of men belonging to a non-brahmanical caste, the owner of which has disappeared during a year and afterwards take it for himself. In the above passage, the village council does not seem to exercise its power and we are left to guess that in questions of property or transfer of property the king was the sole authority. Āpastamba (II. 10.26.4) lays down that "the king shall appoint men of the first three castes, who are pure and truthful, over villages and towns for the protection of the people."

The royal officers must protect the country to the distance of one krośa from each village. The king shall make them collect the lawful taxes.

Gautama (XI. 22) tells us that having learnt the state of affairs from those who in each class have authority to speak, the king shall give the legal decision.

From Vasiṣṭha (XVI. 15) it can be gathered that in case conflicting documents are produced, reliance may be placed on the statement of aged inhabitants of the village or town or those of guilds, corporations of artisans and traders. This may lead some to imagine that villages were autonomous, but the verdict of an unbiassed mind would be in favour of treating these corporate bodies and their statements as serving the purpose of witnesses in legal matters and not in any way implying their autonomous character.

Some more passages are cited from Manu and Yājñavalkya to complete the Smṛti evidence. In connection with the maintenance of the head of the village, it is said in the Manusmṛti (VII. 118-9) that those articles which the villagers ought to furnish daily to the king such as food, drink and fuel, the lord of one village shall obtain. The ruler of ten villages shall enjoy one kula (as much land as suffices for one family). The ruler of twenty villages shall enjoy five kulas: the superintendent of a hundred villages, the revenues of one village; and the lord of a thousand villages, the revenue of a town (VII. 120). Another officer should be appointed to inspect the affairs of those officials (VII. 127). The king should levy taxes on merchants and also on other persons following different professions (VII. 127).

These passages make it unmistakably clear that the village officers were not only appointed but also paid by the king and that in the matter of all kinds of taxes, the king used to exercise his supreme authority. The villages, therefore, do not appear to have any sort of autonomy empowering them to discharge specific functions of administration.

Yājñavalkya (I. 361) divides the territory into administrative units, namely, families, castes, the Śreṇis, the Gaṇas and the Janapada and says that in case they deviate from the path of duty they should be disciplined and set in the right path, of course by the king. Further on (II. 758) he states that in case a man ploughs a field and still does not sow seed, the king should give that field to another and make him sow seed. It is clear from this last passage that even in ordinary matters like ploughing the fields and sowing seeds, villages have no jurisdiction inasmuch as the king dictates his own terms. If villages were really autonomous, they would have been invested with powers necessary to discharge these functions. We have thus seen that the bulk of the Smṛti evidence on the question of constitution, in unmistakable and unequivocal terms, points to a monarchical form of government and as regards the few unimportant matters that are left entirely or partly in the charge of a village, we have reference to the village elders in a general way and never one to a regularly constituted authority or council. Even to-day the same system obtains in villages. In my own village local matters are decided by the village elders, a body which is in no way constituted on anything like elective principle.

Next we shall consider that branch of literature which directly refers to the issue under discussion. No works other than the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the like are calculated to serve our purpose better ; and that is why numerous passages from these works on village administration are quoted below. We are told in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II. 1) that villages consisting each of not less than a hundred families and not more than five hundred families of agricultural people of Śūdra caste, with boundaries extending as far as a krośa or two and capable of protecting each other shall be formed. Boundaries shall be divided by a river or a mountain. In this passage it is possible to infer the hand of some outside

authority like the king working for the good of the people concerned.

Further on (III. 10) it is said that when the headman of a village has to travel on account of any business of the whole village, the villagers shall by turns accompany him. Those who fail to do so shall have to pay a fine of one and a half paṇas for every yojana. This shows that the village was not autonomous, otherwise there was no necessity for laying down such fines. In case of such emergency, the village assembly would have been the proper authority to deal with the situation. In the second book (chapter 1), we get the following information :

> The king shall exercise his right of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying and trading in vegetables, in reservoirs and lakes. Those who do not heed the claims of slaves, hirelings and relatives shall be taught their duty by the king. The king shall provide the orphans, the aged, the infirm, the affected and the helpless with maintenance. He shall also help women that are helpless.

These three functions ought to have been discharged by an autonomous village, if there was any in the days of Kauṭilya. But on the contrary we find in the above extract that the king has to manage even local matters of the nature described above. There is no reason whatsoever to make us believe that village autonomy was the prevailing form of government in the time of Kauṭilya. The king might have invested his officers with special powers. In the Arthaśāstra (II. 35) villages are divided as of the first rank middle and the lowest one. The revenue collector should bring these villages under different heads : those that are exempted from taxation (parihāraka), those that supply soldiers (āyudhīya), those that pay their taxes in the form of grain, cattle, gold or raw material and lastly those that supply free labour (viṣṭi) and dairy produce in lieu of taxes. As regards other fiscal matters, the following information is gathered from the Arthaśāstra (II. 35) :

> It is the duty of Gopa, the village accountant, to attend to the accounts of five or ten villages as ordered by the Collector-General. The houses as tax-paying and non-tax paying should be numbered and a register of the total number of inhabitants of all castes prepared. An account of the exact number of cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, and labourers should be kept. The accountant, moreover, is to keep an account of the number of young and old men that reside in each house, the history, occupation, income and expenditure. A district officer in charge of one quarter of a kingdom is called

Sthānika. Commissioners deputed by the Collector-General shall inspect the work done and means employed by the village and district officers. The village servant is called Grāmabhṛtaka and is to receive five hundred paṇas as his salary. Besides the officers mentioned above, Superintendents of a hundred or a thousand communities (varga) shall regulate the wages and the subsistence of the men under them. The Chief Officers employed to superintend the country shall be many and shall hold the same office permanently.

These passages from the Arthaśāstra offer abundant material to form a correct estimate of village constitution in those days. It is laid down in clear terms that nearly all officers who have got something to do with administrative work are to be appointed by the king to whom they are at all times loyal and subject. There is no trace, in this evidence, of any form of autonomy as we understand it to-day existing in villages, which appear politically and in also other matters quite subservient to the wishes of the king.

Many of these conclusions will be found corroborated by parallel references from the Śukranīti which we produce below. On constitutional questions, the following points are clearly enunciated in this work. The lord of the Sāhasa, the headman of the village (grāmanetṛ), the collector of the land revenues, the clerk, the collector of taxes as also newsbearer: these six are to be appointed in each village and town (Śukra II. 122). The man who is appointed by a king over a hundred Grāmas is called a Nṛsāmanta; the man over ten Grāmas is called a Nāyaka (I. 190-2). Āśāpālasvarāṭ is one who enjoys the revenue of ten thousand Grāmas. The village head should be a Brahman, the clerk is to be a Kāyastha, the tax collector is mostly a Kṣatriya and so also the lord of Sāhasa (I. 431-2). The Collector of duties should be a Vaiśya, whereas the sentinel is of Śūdra caste. The Police should build their outposts at the mouth or end of the line of houses (I. 290-3). The king should hear reports of their works from them, who are to be maintained by wages to be raised from the house-holders by a system of local taxation. The sentinel should carefully examine those who go out of the Grāma and those who come to it and let them out after they have paid some security. Without the permission of the king, the following things are not to be done by the subjects: gambling, use of arms, purchase of cows and other beasts, immoveable property, gift, loan and medical practice (I. 301-4).

This extract leaves no doubt as to the constitution of villages and its working. Autonomous villages are expected in the ordinary course to take cognizance of the matters referred to above, and because these are to be disposed of at the express sanction of the king, the advocates of the existence of autonomy in villages will find it very hard to maintain their thesis. The following extracts from the Śukranīti will bear out the statement:

> The heads of the Grāmas are to receive one-twelfth of the income of the Grāma, the army three-twelfth of the income, charity one twenty-fourth part, people one twenty-fourth, officers one twenty-fourth, personal expenditure one twenty-fourth, and lastly the remainder, which is one-half of the total income, is to go to the treasury. By dividing the revenue into these six items the king should yearly incur expenditure (I. 315-8). The king must personally inspect every year the Grāmas, the Puras, the Deśas and must know which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers and deliberate upon matters brought forward by the people (I. 375-6). He should dismiss the officer, who is accused by one hundred men (I. 378).

So far we have tried to pass under review the material that could be gathered from works such as all the important Smṛtis, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Śukranīti that have direct bearing on the question of village administration and have come to certain tentative conclusions, which it would be advisable to put to test and verify in the light of evidence supplied by Jātakas and epic literature.

In Kulavaka-Jātaka (Vol. 1, Bk. 1), the headman of a village consisting of thirty families is dismissed for wrongly reporting the villagers as culprits. These villagers were first ordered by the king on hearing the false report of the headman to be trampled under the feet of an elephant. This shows the arbitrary power and rule of the king as well as the headman. After dismissing the headman the village was given to the villagers with all the wealth in the house of the headman. From this it is seen that people could not directly punish a bad officer of the king but could ventilate their grievances against the headman to the king and thus get redress.

Some passages from the Mahābhārata will complete our evidence on the question of village constitution. It is said in the Mahābhārata (Śāntip. 87. 3-9) that a headman should be selected from each village; over ten villages or ten headmen one superintendent

should be appointed; over two such superintendents there should be one officer; and above the latter should be placed persons under each of whom should be a hundred villages. The headman should determine the characteristics of every person in the village and also all the crimes that demand punishment. He should report every thing to the officer in charge of 10 villages, the latter to report the same to the officer in charge of 20 villages, and then 100 villages. He should have control over all the produce and the property of the village. Every headman is required to contribute his quota for maintaining the chief of ten villages and the latter again for the chief of twenty villages. The lord of a hundred villages is to receive all honours from the king, and should have for his support a large village, populous and rich. Such a village, however, should be within the jurisdiction of the chief of a thousand villages. The last officer should have a small town for his support. He can use for himself the grain and gold and other things derivable from it. He has got to perform the duties relating to its wars and manage all its internal affairs. A righteous minister should carefully supervise the administrative affairs and mutual relations of all these officers.

These extracts from the Mahābhārata need no comment since they are worded in as clear terms as possible. They mostly confirm all the previous statements made with respect to the village constitution leaving very little doubt as to its exact form.

As already pointed out the whole of the evidence has been arranged for the sake of convenience into different items. So far only the constitution of the village has been discussed leaving other matters such as law and order which will now be taken up for consideration. In so doing the same order of original works referred to be followed. Manu is chosen as the first and the best authority to begin with. In the matter of justice, the following information is supplied to us:

In the absence of a witness, four villages should decide in the matter of dispute over the boundary line in the presence of a king (Manu. VII. 120). In the case of village disputes over a tank or a house or its possession, the opinion of all the persons in that village is to be the deciding factor (VIII. 258). In case the Sāmantavāsins tell a lie they are liable to be punished with the middle amercement (VIII. 262). Failing any evidence from a reliable

witness or a body of men, the king himself should decide the question of boundaries and should hand over that disputed territory to that village, which is badly in want of it for maintenance. Let the king confiscate the whole property of those officials who, being evil-minded, may take money from suitors and banish them (VII. 124).[8]

A body of soldiers should be appointed in charge of two or three or five villages or a hundred villages should constitute one unit to facilitate the work of the police. An officer in charge of a village (Grāmika), another in charge of ten, a higher one over twenty and one over one thousand villages should be appointed. An appeal can be made from the lower to the higher officer mentioned above (VII. 114, 116, 117).

In this extract there is no indication of there being any power vested in the villages. Most of them were in the same condition as in other countries where the monarch rules and a beauracratic body governs in the name of the king.

Yājñavalkya (II.150-1, 153-4) confirms to a great extent Manu's statement in laying down that in disputes over a village boundary or a lake the neighbouring people, the aged, the herdsmen, those who draw the line of boundry and other foresters should decide the boundary line. These people should be four, eight or ten in number. If these people tell a lie, they should be fined middle amercement by the king and thus the king should decide if there be no help or other source of evidence possible. The same procedure according to Yājñavalkya holds good in the case of a village a tank or a stream or a garden.

No special power of discernment on the part of the reader is required to detect the real state of village life in the light of so many extracts from Manu and Yājñavalkya. It will thus be seen that elders of a village were sometimes consulted where any kind of reliable evidence failed; only in special cases pertaining to a village where persons on the spot are expected to know better the elders seem to have been consulted.

The following passages further quoted from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and the Śukranīti are calculated to strengthen our position,

[8] In these passages, it is seen that the king, by allowing the villages to try simple cases or to offer their opinion on certain questions, wanted to seek some relief. Naturally, therefore, it becomes a matter of convenience whether to allow the headman and village people to exercise some power in petty cases.

with regard to village organisation. As regards law and order, the Arthaśāstra gives sufficient information to enable a reader to form a toterably accurate estimate of the situation then prevailing:

Three members acquainted with sacred law and three ministers of the king are to carry on the administration in the cities of Sangrahaṇa, Droṇamukha and Sthānīya and at places where districts meet (Kauṭ. III. 1). The Superintendent of all departments shall carry on the work in unison with accountants, writers, coin examiners, treasurers and military officers. The last mentioned are to do the work of spies in watching the conduct of accountants and clerks (II.9).

Each department shall be managed by several temporary heads. Those government servants who increase the king's revenue shall be made permanent in service (II.12).

This shows how alluring prospects were offered and baiting practices were allowed for the greater interest and needs of the king and not for those of the people concerned as ought to have been the case, were the villages to enjoy the rights and privileges of an autonomous unit.

With respect to mines and minerals unearthed, villages appear to have no power as will be evident from the following extract from the Arthaśāstra (II. 12):

Mines shall be leased out for a fixed number of the shares of the output or for a fixed rent. Such mines as can be worked out without much outlet shall be directly exploited by Government agency.

Even in commercial concerns and other crafts, regular civil service seems to have been working in the name of the king. For instance, the quotation given below leaves no doubt on the matter:

The Superintendent shall regulate the commerce in conch-shells and diamonds, precious pearls, corals, and salt. Taxes on all commodities intended for sale shall be prescribed once for all.

In times of calamities regular orders were issued by the king as to how people should behave and save themselves (Kauṭ. IV.3). Failing to obey these orders, they were to be fined something like twelve paṇas. Villagers living on the banks of rivers were required to provide themselves with boats or wooden planks during the rainy season or to remove themselves to the highlands.

These detailed suggestions may create a wrong impression that villages were autonomous in so far as they were allowed or rather

required to arrange for their safety. But it simply shows that these things were left to villages to be managed by them because the king had no interest in these ordinary matters which in no way interfered with his power as a ruler. It is noteworthy how even in trifling matters villages were directed and guided by the officers appointed by the king. Service rendered to the State or the community by any one was always rewarded by the king by making favourable concessions to those workers.

As regards the authority of the Grāmaṇī and the part he used to play as the head of a village, the following extract from the Arthaśāstra (III.10) offers ample material:

Having made the value of the merchandise known (to the headman of the village) traders shall halt in some parts of a village. When any portion of the merchandise has been stolen or lost the headman of the village shall make good the loss. If the merchandise is lost between two villages, the superintendent of pasture land shall make good the loss. If it is lost, on the boundaries where there are no peolple staying, the people of the five or ten neighbouring villages shall make up the loss.

In all disputes, regarding the boundaries between any two villages, neighbours or elders of five or ten villagers shall investigate the cause on the evidence furnished from natural or artificial boundary marks. The king shall beneficially distribute among others those holdings which have no boundary marks and which have ceased to be enjoyed by any person. Disputes concerning fields shall be decided by the elders of the neighbourhood or of the people concerned. If they are divided in their opinions, decisions shall be sought for from a number of pure and respectable people; or the disputants may equally divide the disputed holdings among themselves. In case both these methods fail, the holding under dispute shall be taken possession of by the king.

This means arbitrary confiscation. To villages a sort of freedom is allowed, which is very suited to many primitive and civilized small communities. This procedure can never by any show of reason be proved to presuppose village organisation on democratic lines and should never be mistaken for any form of autonomy in villages.

There are only very few cases where the village can utilize the amount obtained by way of fine which was sometimes levied on a cultivator who arriving at a village for work does not work (Kauṭilya III.10). In settling disputes between the creditor and the debtor, the elders of the villages are referred to and are even

allowed to keep the amount of debt in their custody, the debtor getting the pledged property redeemed (ibid III.12). From all this evidence, it is clear that only matters which require an intimate knowledge on the part of the mediator are left to village elders, as they are the persons on the spot, who are supposed to understand the situation better than any one else. But in matters of moment, especially in fiscal and other vital interests, the king, through his officers, examines and finally decides the claims that be. We get from Kauṭilya (XIII.5) very valuable suggestions as to how a king should treat his subjects when a new territory is acquired :

The king should follow the people in the faith with which they celebrate their national religious and other festivals. His spies should often bring home to the minds of leaders of provinces, villages, castes and corporations, the hurt inflicted by the enemy in contrast with the esteem with which they are being treated by the conqueror. The king should please them by making gifts, remitting taxes and providing for them security. The property of bereaved minors should be left in the charge of elders for improvements till the latter will attain their age, so also the property of gods.

This extract presents special cases, which show solicitude on the part of the king for newly acquired villages and are not, therefore, cogent evidence in favour of his concern for ordinary villages. The elaborate system of village administration depicted in South Indian inscription has no parallel here. Many Indian writers, basing their views on this inscriptional evidence, assume that it is applicable to any part of India in any period of history. We doubt very seriously if they can maintain their thesis in the face of the evidence adduced above. The conclusion drawn from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra can be taken as the correct indication of the whole system in its infancy and even in its later growth, inasmuch as many of these find an echo in the Śukranīti, which is a work directly treating the issue under discussion and from which a few more extracts on law and order are reproduced below :

The king should look after law suits according to the dictates of Dharmaśāstras in the company of the Chief Justice Amātya, Brahmā, and the priest. (IV. 5. 6).

In villages affairs are to be administered by the persons who live with both the parties because they are the persons on the spot to know and to judge.

The king should however appoint officers, who are virtuous, well-tried and capable of bearing the burden of administration of justice like bulls (IV. 23-24).

Those families, corporations or associations which are known intimately to the king should investigate other cases excepting robbery and theft. The Śreṇis should try cases not tried by Kulas (families); Gaṇas (Communities) will try cases left by Śreṇis and the royal officer is to try cases left over by the Gaṇas (IV.30).

When violence has been committed, the aggressor must be caught and handed over to the State. (I.311).

We have seen how the work of administering justice has been elaborately treated in the Śukranītī, which reminds even a casual reader of the present day system of government in the country. Even in social matters and in connection with what is called Local Government, the king used to exercise his authority. For instance, in the first chapter of the Śukranīti, we read :

The king should plan both the town and Grāma (I.259). He should have the roads repaired every year with gravels by men who are sued against or imprisoned (I.431.2). The king should have the domestic plants planted in villages and the wild trees in forests (IV.4.46). He should build temples for Viṣṇu and Śiva and so on in the squares or the centre of the village (IV.4.66-7). All measurements have to be definitely fixed and ascertained by the king (I.310).

These extracts from the Śukranīti conclusively prove what has already been tentatively put down. There was no autonomy excepting the hypothetical one, regulating the lives of many a rich and poor people.

After drawing copiously from important Sanskrit works it will not be wise to leave the Buddhistic evidence altogether out of account in view of the fact that the Buddhist literature is likely to shed more light on this question, with respect to its social aspect and also that without it, our evidence is bound to remain incomplete. For these reasons, I shall add a few more quotations from Buddhist literature.

It is said in the Culavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka (VII.3.5) that the Magadha king Bimbisāra stripped some of his ministers (Mahāmanttas) who had advised him badly of their officers, degraded other ministers with whose advice he was not satisfied and promoted those whose advice he approved of to higher positions. In this

passage one can clearly see how much authority was vested in the king, leaving no chance for democracy to creep in.

In the Kharasara Jātaka the superintendent of a village (Grāmabhojaka) was an Amacca of the king who collected taxes for him. He was punished by the king appropriately when he with his own people went to the forest leaving the villagers at the mercy of robbers.

Such things, it is needless to say, will scarcely be allowed in an autonomous village. In another place, we learn that Bimbisāra, a contemporary of the Buddha, collects together the chiefs of these villages and gives them instructions in worldly things. Again in the Gaṇapati Jātaka, (transl. Rouse, vol. 2, p. 94), the headman of a village is represented as having some illicit connection with a woman of that village (Kāśī). There was famine in that village and the villagers consequently besought help of the headman saying: "Two months from now, when we have harvested the grain, we will pay you in kind." So they got an old ox from him and ate it.

The story implies that the headman must have been an officer of the king, since there is no mention of the village council to whom the whole matter would otherwise have been reported.

From Gāmanīkanda Jātaka (transl. Rouse, vol. 21, p. 207) it appears that ordinary disputes also were settled before the king. In this Jātaka, a king's servant (Gāmani) is taken over by a villager to the king because he was responsible for the loss of oxen that were given to him by the villager for use.

From the *Questions of Milinda* we learn how sometimes an order is issued to the villagers by the lord. He orders them to assemble and the crier accordingly stands in the middle of the village and calls out thrice. The heads of all houses assemble, not all the members of a family.

It will thus clearly be seen from the evidence adduced above how writers on ancient Indian village administration have been obsessed with one idea, always taken for granted, namely, that it was autonomous and democratic in form. Deductions arrived at by some of these writers from an examination of the South Indian inscriptions can hardly be made to apply generally to all parts of

India at all times. In fact Sanskritic evidence, most of which chronologically is anterior to the inscriptional evidence, goes to prove that the king exercised a great deal of authority in the administration of villages. There is no clear cut definition of a Grāma barring what has been said by Kauṭilya, as regards its size and area in Vedic literature, nor is there any mention made of communal property in the sense of ownership by a community of any sort. Grāmaṇī, the headman of the village, was one of king's officers. On this question of village constitution the evidence of the Smṛtis is more convincing and goes clearly to show the authority of the king over village affairs. Collection of taxes as also questions affecting property or transfer of property were decided by the representatives of the king. Yājñavalkya, indeed, refers to the guilds, and corporations of artisans, but here also the advocate of the autonomous village cannot hope to take his firm stand. They, in fact, served only as witnesses, whose word might be trusted by the king, when conflicting documents were produced before him. The officers of the king, who formed a sort of hierarchy, were to be maintained by the state revenues. Even in local affairs, regarding ploughing the fields and sowing seeds, the king exercised authority and wherever matters were left to the villagers, we have always reference to the village elders and never to any representative and democratic body. Coming down to more recent works on ancient forms of government, we clearly see in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and the Śukranīti, the definitions of and limit laid down to the village jurisdiction and also the right of ownership of the king with regard to fishing, trading, medical practices and so forth. Provision for orphans, helpless women and other charitable work was made by the king. The king's officer (Gopa) collected taxes and divided houses into rateable and non-rateable houses. A sort of census work was also done by him who was required to keep a register of all cultivators, merchants, etc. The Śukranīti also lends support to such a view of ancient village administration and makes mention of the way in which the king heard the grievances of his subjects, which included even those made against his own officers. Again a few extracts from the Buddhist literature and the Mahābhārata clearly point to the existence of such officers appointed

by the king. In the former, a clear statement is made that the people of a certain village had to approach the king to get their grievances against his own officers redressed.

As regards Law and Order, we are in a position to say that the king saw that it was maintained throughout his kingdom as is clear from the writings of Smṛtikāras. All disputes regarding boundaries of villages were settled in his presence and if the Sāmantavāsins gave any false evidence in respect of such a settlement, they were liable to be punished by the king. The Police was well organised and was divided into distinct grades, the village officer being the lowest in rank. The elders in a village were no doubt consulted by the officers of the king but it was only in exceptional cases, where direct evidence was absolutely necessary. The writings of Kauṭilya and Śukra throw further light on this subject and go clearly to prove the way in which the king's hand established peace and order throughout the kingdom including small units like the villages. The Jātaka stories referred to above also prove in a clear way how the king took interest in the administration of the villages and saw that they were well governed by efficient officers appointed by him.

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SOME IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS ON INDOLOGY

NOTICED BY JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA

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SANSKRIT-WÖRTERBUCH in kürzerer Fassung bearbeitet von OTTO BÖHTLINGK. Neudruck in Helioplanverfahren. Markert und Petters, Leipzig, 1923-1925.

This "smaller" dictionary of the Sanskrit language, covering seven folio volumes of about 300 pages each, is so called because of its still greater predecessor, the *Petersburger Woerterbuch* (PW. in abbreviation), compiled by the same great Sanskritist in collaboration with the equally great Vedist Rudolph Roth. The latter was published under the patronage of the Royal Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg in 1855-1875. It was for the first time that a Sanskrit dictionary (with quotations and references) had been prepared direct from the study of its literature, and that Vedic texts had been interpreted independently of the commentary of Sāyaṇa.—The other dictionary was likewise published by the Petersburg Academy in 1879-1889, and hence was known as the "smaller" *Petersburger Woerterbuch* (pw in abbreviation). This work, which gives numerous additions to and corrections in the other, has during the last 35 years been regarded as a standard lexicon of the Sanskrit language. Messrs. Markert and Peters of Leipzig, have undoubtedly done a signal service to the cause of Indology in these difficult days by obtaining the right over the work and issuing its facsimile edition, excellently reproduced by means of a photolithographic process on good and durable paper. The last part contains the photograph of the author with his signature, a fitting addition indeed. A supplementary volume to this dictionary, noted below, is being simultaneously published by another firm, which enhances considerably the value of the lexicon. Indian Sanskritists and above all oriental institutions and seminaries will do well to avail themselves of this opportunity to possess this invaluable thesaurus of the Sanskrit language, so long out of print, which is useful for research also in other languages—Indian and Iranian.

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NACHTRAEGE ZUM SANSKRIT-WÖRTERBUCH in kürzerer Fassung von Otto Böhtlingk bearbeitet von RICHARD SCHMIDT. Lieferung I—IV. Folio pp. 192. Heinz Lafaire, Hanover, 1924-25.

This is the supplement referred to above, which must be welcomed along with the great work to which it is added. It gives absolutely new words and records hitherto unknown meanings and gender of some known ones. Again references are added to some of those words for which Böhtlingk found none. For the convenience of the user the words in the General Index of Böhtlingk's *Woerterbuch* are repeated in the supplement. The author has largely drawn on the Yaśastilakacampū and its commentary and a great number of literary works are taken into account. The former, a Sanskrit lexicon by Somadevasūri, contains numerous uncommon words, the transfer of which in the supplement forms an interesting feature. The publisher will issue three more parts to finish this useful work. The paper and printing are excellent. It would have been much better if bold type had been used instead of italic for the Sanskrit words, but as the articles are short the reference does not become difficult.

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ZUM WÖRTERBUCH DES ṚGVEDA VON WALTER NEISSER. Erstes Heft. Large 8° pp. XIII+205. Leipzig 1924. In Commission bei F. A. Brockhaus. [=Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XVI. Band, Nr. 4.]

Under this modest title Dr. Neisser puts together, not without his own additions, all the available materials for the study of the Ṛgveda. Like Grassmann he brings under each word all its forms with quotations and references, but unlike him ignores nothing which might help the interpretation thereof. In his short introduction the author notices, for the sake of guidance, the work of those scholars who have chiefly contributed to the Ṛgvedic lexicography. Geldner and Oldenberg, Bloomfield and Hillebrandt are his chief but not the only authorities. As regards the Avesta the author depends upon Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Woerterbuch* both for the meaning as well as the form of the word.—All this shows the character of the great work which is useful both for the

Vedist and the Iranist. The words are printed in bold type, and the quotations are given in italic, thus distinguishing them from the rest a very convenient and useful method in a work of this type.— The first part, fittingly dedicated to Geldner on his seventieth birthday, brings the work as far as the vowels. Let us hope that the remaining ones will be published in due course.

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DER RIGVEDA übersetzt und erläutert von KARL F. GELDNER. 1. Teil, erster bis vierter Liederkreis. 4° pp. 442. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1923.

Geldner, who has passed thepsalmist's three score years and ten, is master of both the Avesta and the Veda. His services for the latter date as far back as 1875, when he brought out with Kaegi that charming little volume *Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda*. Then came the *Vedische Studien*, 3 vol. (1889-1891), in collaboration with Pischel, and *Ṛgveda in Auswahl* (1907-1909). Now here is the translation of the first four Maṇḍalas of the Ṛgveda, for the appearance of which we are indebted to the publishers of *Quellen der Religionsgeschichte*. The learned author very humbly considers his translation as a mere renewed attempt at explanation, not a final but only a further help to the student of the original, and as a poor substitute for it to the general reader. This he has achieved and to achieve more was not possible. The translation is rigidly "philological" and is accompanied with notes of two kinds; those of the first kind serve as a running commentary on various points, those of the second give some hints for quickly grasping the meaning of the passages translated. It should be noted that almost half of the space is filled with notes, which form the best contribution to the Ṛgvedic lexicography; they have been partly incorporated by Dr. Neisser in his recent work on the subject. The translation of the rest of the Ṛgveda is finished and a greater part even ready for the press. This will be printed in two more fascicules, the last containing an introduction and two indices, one of words, the other of subject-matter, in which the untranslated technical terms and proper names of persons and peoples occurring in the Ṛgveda will be discussed. This was promised in 1923; but the lack of necessary support has deprived Indology of all this till

now. I believe it is the duty of Indian orientalists—both Hindus and Parsis—to use the means in their power and help the publication of this work by subscribing for it. Hertel's recent researches in the Veda and the Avesta show how important these oldest literary monuments of the Aryans are; and in spite of his criticism of the hitherto followed method of investigation in these texts nobody will think of neglecting the work promised by Geldner.

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ATHARVA VEDA SANHITA herausgegeben von R. ROTH und W. D. WHITNEY. Zweite verbesserte Auflage besorgt von DR. MAX LINDENAU. Gr. 8° pp. XIX+390. Berlin. Ferd. Dümmler, 1924.

This second edition is revised not as Lindenau would but as Whitney would have. Lindenau takes the latter's translation of the Atharvaveda as the basis and guide for revising the first edition of the text published in 1856. Though Whitney, while translating it, was forced now and then to prefer another reading or to make a new conjecture, he has tried his utmost to stick to the first edition. So much so that when it was not possible to obtain sense, he translated quite mechanically, even there where a parallel text from the *Ṛgveda* or some other source would have shown him the right conjecture. This attitude of the great sceptic was decisive for Dr. Lindenau in the work of revising this edition. Misprints and other slips noticed by Whitney and also those noted by Lanman who published Whitney's translation as a posthumous work, are corrected and so also are the mistakes in the accent. All these corrections are made direct in the body of the text; only in some cases, especially in the 19th Book, where this was not possible for technical reasons, they are given only in the list of variations (pp. VIII ff.). Whitney has neither translated nor commented upon the 20th Book, and so the present editor has omitted it altogether. Lindenau promises a complete German translation of the Atharvaveda which will indicate the numerous places where the text of Whitney should be changed. Now if the editor did not like to change the text of Whitney more than Whitney himself would have done, he could have, nay ought to have, we think, given his own emendations in a separate list. This would have preserved

his principle and at the same time helped the student. It may be mentioned in passing that the edition is prepared after the Obral method and the result is highly satisfactory; it is as clear as a printed edition.

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Das altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben, DAS ARTHA-CASTRA DES KAUTILYA, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt und mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von JOHANN JACOB MEYER. II. Lieferung. 4° pp. 177-352. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig 1925.

Dr. Meyer is already known as an accomplished translator of several Sanskrit (and also Prakrit) works of various character; to these he now adds the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, by far the most important work in the political literature of ancient India. It is not written by Kauṭilya (alias Cāṇakya), the minister of Candragupta Maurya; but since he was a great politician, as we learn from other sources, the work has been attributed to him. In its own words it is a compilation from other works of the kind. This, however, does not deprive it of its intrinsic value. The text was published for the first time in 1909 and since then it has attracted many scholars, Indian and European. Besides a number of learned contributions mostly scattered in the pages of *ZDMG* and other Oriental Journals, the text has been translated and revised by the first editor and two more editions have been issued. Now appears this translation with full notes, critical and exegetical. Meyer does not ignore the researches of his predecessors, nor does he blindly follow them. A searching criticism runs throughout his work, which contains a large amount of new material which affords considerable help in understanding the original and with it the political and economic conditions of ancient India. The work will be completed in four or five equal parts; the second brings us to the fourth book (chapter 10). Although the work appeals primarily to the scholar, it will not be without interest to the general reader, who may simply omit the notes, so clear and lucid is the translation.

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DIE ARISCHE FEUERLEHRE, I. TEIL, VON JOHANNES HERTEL. 8° pp. 188. H. Haessel, Leipzig, 1925. [=Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen, Heft VI.]

DIE METHODE DER ARISCHEN FORSCHUNG VON JOHANNES HERTEL. 8° pp. 80. H. Haessel, Leipzig 1926. [ibid. Beiheft zu Heft VI].

Die arische Feuerlehre like one of its predecessors, *Die Himmelstore im Veda und im Awesta*, continues the investigations begun by the author in his article on "bráhman" (*Indogerm. Forsch.* 41, 185 ff.). By a comparative study of the Veda and the Avesta he shows the religion or rather the "Weltanschauung" the (general view of the world) of the Aryans—and quite differently than it is hitherto done. Fire (light) is the principle; it surrounds and pervades the whole world and that is called heaven-fire, personified in *Bṛhaspati* and in *Mazdāh*. In living creatures it appears as heart-fire, the essence of health and strength, power and wisdom. It is *brahman* in the Ṛgveda, in the Avesta it is *daenā* and *xvarenah*, the former expressing its intellectual and psychical aspect, the latter its physical aspect. The embodiments of heaven-fire are the *deva-yazata*, both being powers and phenomena of nature. Against the world of light there is the world of darkness. This principle governs the rites and rituals, beliefs and dogmas. Hertel proves his case by discussing the meanings of particular words on the basis of etymology and on that of comparison of parallel passages. In this first part the following pairs of words are discussed: *yaj–yaz, citra–cithra, dhenā–daenā, vasu–vohu*, with which are connected the significance of Aryan sacrifice and Vedic cremation, the nature of *Soma–Haoma* and its use, and the Aryan conception of fire–heaven and eternal bliss. The list of Vedic and Sanskrit passages discussed here covers double columns of five pages and that of Avestic ones two. This gives some idea of the work done. Besides the index of words, the index of subject-matter is given, which may be taken as a short summary of the whole Fire doctrine. The second part, as I learn from the author, is ready for the press; it contains discussion on the pairs: *svaraṇa–xvarenah, medhas–mazdāh, sava(s)–sava(h), saoka-soka* and the subjects connected with them. One cannot too much emphasise the value of Prof. Hertel's contributions,

which can be called epoch-making without any exaggeration.

—The second booklet under review is the author's reply to his critics, especially to Professors Clemen of Bonn, Keith of Edinburgh and Charpentier of Upsala. They found fault with him for ignoring the evidence of Xanthos on the question of the date of Zoroaster, which is far from being unimpeachable. Hertel therefore thoroughly and critically examines this evidence as well as the tile-inscription of Assurbanipal, in which Hommel believed to have found the name Ahura Mazdāh. As some of the critics lightly dismissed Hertel's new researches, he has shown here, with examples, the mistake of the hitherto followed method in Vedic and Avestic studies. Thus the booklet also forms a supplement to the author's *Arische Feuerlehre.*

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MUNDAKA-UPANISAD. Kritische Ausgabe von JOHANNES HERTEL. 8 pp. 68+68. H. Haessel, Leipzig, 1924 [=Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen, Heft III].

The work opens with a dedicatory epistle to Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Alfred Hillebrandt, on whose 70th birthday on 15th March 1923 it was dedicated to him.[1]

After referring to certain changes made in the contents of his original work, the author reviews the state of Indology in its general aspects. He reiterates his firm belief that the printed editions of Sanskrit classics do not give what their authors wrote, but only the gross corruptions thereof. He protests against the correction of MSS. on the authority of grammarians who, he adds, have produced mere scholastic, not historical, grammars. Pischel has proclaimed the dictum " nicht die Grammatiker sind nach den Handschriften, sondern die Handschriften nach den Grammatikern zu verbessern" (*Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* p. 46), but Hertel finds this blind faith in Prakrit grammars especially fatal. He points out that the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas published by Lüders show how mistaken are the rules of these grammars. As regards the Vedic texts Indian interpretation is highly suspicious. Deussen, who is generally considered the best interpreter of the

1 Similar contributions by other scholars are published in the second volume of the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.*

Upaniṣads, is severely criticised by Hertel with special reference to the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad. Its extant text is taken to be wholly genuine and attempts are made to read in it a connective philosophy. But Hillebrandt has rightly remarked that the text contains all sorts of additions and enlargements, and is not free from contradictory teachings which are not to be accounted for as depicting a transition state of philosophy but are to be attributed to the Indian mind ever prone to revision and retouch (*Aus Brahmanas und Upanisaden* pp. 132 f.). Now, Hertel tries here to show that the teaching of this Upaniṣad is clear and consistent and that the contradictions have entered into it only with the revision. He critically examines its extant text by subjecting it (excluding the quotations) to the strict proof of metre. The section dealing with this point is sure to prove an eye-opener to many. The second section contains some remarks upon the language of the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad. Then after adding critical notes to the extant text, which supplement the remarks upon the metre, the author turns to show its genuine and ungenuine parts. He points out that the source of the text is the skambha-song (Atharvaveda 10. 7), the chief idea of which is that not the impersonal *brahman* but the *puruṣa* is the highest principle, from whom everything is emanated. In some of the verses (32-34, 36) of this song the *puruṣa* is identified with the *brahman*, but Hertel critically observes that in all these cases it is used as masculine and therefore it stands there in the sense of the *brahmaṇaspati*, which really represents the *puruṣa*. Now the interpolator did not notice this fine difference and so he was led to add the usual Upaniṣad doctrine of the impersonal *brahman* in the original text. This is the ungenuine part which contradicts the main theme. If it is removed, the teaching of the rest will very much resemble that of the Praśna Upaniṣad. After pointing out the various interpolations, the author shows how the metre, or more exactly the cesura, differs in the genuine and ungenuine parts. The reconstructed text is given in transcription; originally there was metrical version instead, but this will be included in the complete translation of the older Upaniṣads. The fifth section contains the analysis of the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad and the last deals with its origin and age and shows its relation to

Jainism. The second part of this highly important work contains the facsimile of the first edition (Roer's) of the traditional text with its commentary.—It is only after such critical studies that we can expect to know exactly the teachings of the old texts, and we earnestly hope that Prof. Hertel will be able to publish early his promised work on the older Upaniṣads.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

By D. B. Diskalkar,

Watson Museum, Rajkot.

I. Who is the Kumāragupta of the Mandsor inscription of M. S. 529?

The Title "Mandsor stone inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman" so far given to the famous Vatsabhaṭṭi's *praśati*[1] of M. S. 529, requires in my opinion some change. Two dates are given in the record for two incidents. In M. S. 493 the Sun temple was built at Daśapura (भवनमतुलं कारितं दीप्तरश्मेः v. 29) and in M. S. 529 the same temple was repaired (संस्कारितमिदं भूयः श्रेण्य भानुमतो गृहम् v. 37). Verse 29 clearly states that at the time of the building of the temple Bandhuvarman (son of Viśvavarman) was governing Daśapura, where the temple was built. At the time of repairing the temple and of course of the composing of the inscription by Vatsabhaṭṭi it is not mentioned who the king of Daśapura was. V. 36 states that during the interval of 36 years between the building of the temple and the repairing of it many kings had ruled (बहुना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः). Now it is not quite clear whether these kings were the local kings of Daśapura or of the Imperial dynasty.[2] I however think that the local kings are meant here. Any how it is quite clear that Bandhuvarman was not living at the time when repairs were made to the temple and when the inscription was actually composed and engraved.

V. 23 refers to the mighty rule of the Gupta, emperor Kumāragupta. The poet leaves his principal theme here and goes on from the following verse to give an account of the father of Bandhuvarman in whose time the temple was built. V. 23 is therefore

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1 Fleet, *Gupta Inscription*, No. 18.

2 According to Mr. R. D. Banerji the kings whose reigns intervened between the construction of the temple and its repairs, and who are referred to by the expression अन्यैश्च पार्थिवैः in v. 36 were the five Gupta emperors, Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta, Puragupta, Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II.

immediately connected with V. 29. The sentence reads:

कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति बन्धुवर्मणि दशपुरं पालयति दीप्तरश्मेः अतुलं भवनं कारितं (v. 29) and मङ्गलाचारविधिना अयं प्रासादः निवेशितः (v. 35).

From the above it follows that at the time of the building of the temple, in M. S. 493, Kumāragupta was the emperor and Bandhuvarman was his feudatory governing Daśapura. This Kumāragupta must be Kumāragupta I of the early Gupta dynasty who we know was ruling from A. D. 415 to 455.

From v. 36 the poet goes on to narrate a new account that "in the course of a long time under other kings part of the temple fell into disrepair and it was now, *i.e.*, in 529, repaired by the same guild." In this latter account the name of the ruler of Daśapura is not mentioned; and if we take the locative absolute phrase कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति with the principal sentence भवनमतुलं कारितं (v. 29) or प्रासादो निवेशितः (v. 25), we miss also the name of the Gupta sovereign who was ruling at the time of the second incident. It looks rather strange that the poet gives the names of the local ruler of Daśapura and of his sovereign who were ruling at the time of the building of the temple and he omits altogether to give the name of the ruler in whose time the temple was repaired and the inscription was set up. The reason may probably be this that after the death of Skandagupta the Imperial throne was unsafe and Malvā witnessed several vicissitudes of fortune.

Mr. Panna Lall, who has discussed this subject at some length (*Hindustan Review*, 1928, p. 31) is of opinion that the king Kumāragupta mentioned in the inscription must be referred to the second date M. S. 529 when the temple was repaired (which is the main event recorded in the inscription) and when the inscription was actually composed and that the account of the building of the temple for the first time must be supposed to form a parenthesis. The inscription thus belongs to the time of Kumāragupta II. Mr. R. D. Banerji (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. I, p. 70) however thinks that it is impossible to refer Kumāragupta in the inscription to the second date. The inscription states that when Kumāragupta was ruling over the world and when Bandhuvarman, the son of Viśvavarman, was ruling over Daśapura in M. S. 493 a temple

of the Sun god was built by the guild. After the lapse of a long period of time by many kings a portion of the temple fell into disrepair and was repaired in the year 529. He thus takes Kumāragupta to be the first of the name as Dr. Fleet has done.

I also think that the poet perhaps intended that the phrase कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति is also to be taken in relation with the sentence संस्कारितामिदं (v. 37) and that we are to suppose by Kumāragupta there Kumāragupta II of whose time we have found the Sārnāth inscription of G. S. 154 (ca. V. S. 529). He might have thought that the Gupta emperors ruling on both the occasions bore the same name and might have therefore intended to serve both the purposes by using one phrase कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति. The expression चतुःसमुद्रान्त . . . . . पृथिवीं expressive of a mighty rule may not exactly suit to the rule of Kumāragupta II as it would do to that of Kumāragupta I but there is no reason to believe that at least upto the time of Kumāragupta II, successor of Budhagupta, the power of the Gupta emperor was not very much diminished.

The title of the inscription therefore should be "Mandsor stone inscription of M. S. 529" or, if my supposition is correct, "Mandsor stone inscription of Kumāragupta II of M. S. 529."

II. The rivers Palāśinī and Sikatāvilāsinī.

In the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman two rivers Suvarṇasikatā and Palāsinī are mentioned as taking their rise from the Ūrjayant mountain which is no doubt the modern Girnar hill in the west of Junagadh city in Kathiawad.[3] The same two rivers are mentioned in the Skandagupta inscription engraved on the same rock where the Rudradaman inscription is engraved.[4] There these two rivers are said to have taken their rise from the Raivataka mountain. Fleet has wrongly taken the word Sikatāvilāsinī as an adjective of Palāsinī and translated it as "beautiful with its sandy stretches." The river Sikatāvilāsinī in Skandagupta's inscription is no doubt the same as Suvarṇasikatā (modern Sonrekhā) mentioned

[3] गिरेरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकतापलाशिनीप्रभृतीनां नदीनां *Ep. Ind.* No. VIII, p. 49.

[4] इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गताः पलाशिनीयं सिकताविलासिनी Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 14, v. 28.

in Rudradaman's inscription. It is moreover clear from these two inscriptions that Ūrjayant and Raivataka were in old times the names of one and the same mountain. The remarks of Fleet[5] that Raivataka is opposite to Ūrjayant or Girnar and of the late Col. Watson[6] that the ancient name of the Girnar hill is Ūrjayant but not Revatāchala as is sometimes supposed and that Revatāchala is the name of the hill immediately over the Revatikuṇḍa are therefore wrong.

It may also be noted in connection with this that the verse 29 of the Skandagupta's inscription[7] is wrongly construed by Fleet. He translates it thus :

"Having noticed the great bewilderment, caused by the excess of rain (themountain) Urjayat, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (Palāsinī) decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (its) banks."

He means that taking advantage of the general confusion Ūrjayat wanted to outrage the ocean's wives. In this he takes the solitary river Palāśinī under the figure of an outstretched arm and the other rivers under the figure of the ocean's mistresses. I think this in itself is wrong. Moreover a bad motive cannot be attributed to the mountain Urjayat (which, as I have shown above, is not different from Raivataka) from which as the inscription clearly states the rivers Palāśinī and Sikatāvilāsinī took their rise. The mountain is thus the "father" of the rivers and the "father-in-law" of the ocean.

The verse is to be understood thus :—

At the approach of the rainy season separated lovers get agitated (*vide* Meghadūta). The mountain seeing this condition of his son-in-law at the approach of the rains— it is common knowledge that the sea is agitated in the rainy-season—stretched out his arm to console him, *i.e.*, sent away his daughter to her husband after decorating her with flowers. Or it may be that the poet took

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[5] *op. cit.* p. 64, n. 1. [6] *Kathiawad Gaz.*, p. 441.

[7] अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमज महोद्भ्रमं
महोदधेरूर्जयता प्रियेप्सुना ।
अनेकतीरान्तजपुष्पशोभितो
नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः ॥

the mountain Ūrjayat in the sense of a female, a lover of the ocean, though this is rather uncommon. The verse then means 'seeing the great perturbation of the great ocean caused by the approach of the rainy season, Urjayat desirous of meeting her lover stretched out her flower decked arm in the form of the river to clasp him.' If we take Urjayat as a male and the ocean as his lover the meaning of the word priyepsunā is very well brought out; but the expression flower decked arm, which suits well with a female, becomes inappropriate.

III. The date of the Eran Inscription of Toramana.

Toramāṇa is generally supposed to have begun his rule in Central India in or about 500 A.D.[8] The Eran Boar Inscription[9] recording the first year of his rule, is, therefore, attributed to 500 A. D. I however shall try to show that Toramāṇa could not have come to rule at Eraṇ before G. S. 191 *i.e.*, 510 A. D.

This inscription records, that Dhanyaviṣṇu after the death of his brother, the Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu built a temple at Eraṇ.

Another inscription[10] at the same place of the time of Budhagupta records that the two brothers, referred to above, were living in G. S. 165 *i.e.*, 484 A. D.

The two records show that Toramāṇ's rule in C. I. began after that of Budhagupta and within the remnant of the generation to which the brothers belonged.

We have one more inscription[11] at the same place, Eraṇ which is dated G. S. 191, and records the name of Bhānugupta. This inscription clearly shows that in G. S. 191 Eraṇ was in the possession of the Guptas. If we suppose that Eraṇ went into the hands of the Hūṇas in 500 A. D. (who continued to rule in C. I. upto about 530 A. D.) the Gupta date 191 (*i.e.*, 510 A. D.) at Eraṇ cannot be explained.

The order of the three inscriptions at Eraṇ is in my opinion as follows :—

1. The inscription of G. S. 165 of the time of Budhagupta.
2. ,, ,, 191 of Bhānugupta.
3. ,, ,, the first year of Toramāṇa.

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[8] *Ind. Ant.* 1918, p. 19.
[9] Fleet, *op. cit.* No. 36.
[10] Fleet, *op. cit.* No. 19.
[11] Fleet, *op. cit.* No. 20.

The second inscription states that Bhānugupta, a very brave king accompanied by Gōparāja, and other allies had come to Eraṇ and fought a very great battle in G. S. 191, in which Gōparāja was killed. The inscription is altogether silent as to who the enemies of the Guptas were and what the result of the battle was.

We can, however, imagine that the battle must have been fought with the Hūṇas. Formerly in 455 A. D. they were defeated and driven back by Skandagupta. But they established themselves firmly in the Punjab, and were waiting for an opportunity to invade again the Gupta Empire. Budhagupta, the last powerful emperor, died about 500 A. D. and Bhānugupta succeeded him, probably not as a direct descendant. The Hūṇas under Toramāṇa took this opportunity, left the Punjab and advanced into the interior of the Gupta Empire. Bhānugupta hastened from the east with a large army, accompanied by his general Gōparāja to face him. The two armies met at Eraṇ. A great battle was fought between the Hūṇas and the Guptas, in which the latter seem to have been defeated in spite of the great valour of Bhānugupta, and were driven back to the east.

This must have been the result of the battle. Had the Guptas been victorious mention would certainly have been made of the result in the inscription.

The province of Eraṇ then went into the hands of the victorious Hūṇa, who at once proclaimed himself king. Dhanyaviṣṇu, the Viṣayapati of the Guptas over the province of Eraṇ, seems to have thought it better to submit to the foreign power. Toramāṇa, with a view to make himself popular among the people, confirmed him in his appointment. The western part of the empire, in which Gupta power declined, perhaps, soon after the death of Skandagupta was lost for ever by this Hūṇa victory at Eraṇ.

The boar inscription recording the first year of the rule of Toramāṇa must, therefore, be of 511 A. D. the next year after the battle at Eraṇ was won.

The period of 27 years between the first inscription, (484 A. D.) when both the brothers were living, and the third (511 A. D.) when

as I have shown, the elder brother was dead and the younger one was living, may be safely allowed.

This supposition does not conflict with the other evidence for Tormāṇa's life. In the Kurā inscription[12]—if it at all belongs to this Toramāṇa the date is unfortunately lost. We only get the date 52 on his coins[13] without the name of the era to which it belonged. This date might have been in some Hūṇa era founded by Toramāṇa's predecessor or predecessors when the Hūṇas were established in the North West of India. These coins were of course struck before Toramāṇa left the Punjab for the invasion.

IV. Who was Vijayapal of the Ingnoda inscription of V. S. 1190.

At Ingnoḍā in the Dewas State (Central India) a stone inscription has been found which records a grant[14] to the Gohadeśavra Mahādeva temple in Ingaṇapati by Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Vijayapāladeva, successor of Parambhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parmeśvara Śrī Tihuṇapāla, successor of Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Prithvīpāla, who was also called Bhartṛpaṭṭa. The date of the grant is given as (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1190 Āśāḍha śudi 11.

At Ṭhākarḍā in the Dungarpur State in Rajputana another inscription is found which in addition to the three names of the above kings mentions the fourth name of Śūrapāladeva, the son of Vijayapala. It however gives only the epithet Mahārāja to all the four kings and spells the name of Vijayapala's father as Tribhuvanapāladeva instead of Tihuṇapāla as in the Ingnoḍā inscription. Its object is to record a grant of land to the Siddheśvara temple by Mahārājaputra Anaṅgapāladeva during the reign of Śūrapāla, on the first day of the bright half of Bhādrapada in V.S. 1212.[15] These two inscriptions taken together clearly show that the princes mentioned in them were independent kings and ruled over certain parts of Central India and Rajputana.

Now the difficulty here arises that the Paramāra rulers of Malvā were ruling also independently at the same time in almost the same

12 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 238.
13 *Ind. Ant.* 1889, p. 225.
14 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 49.
15 *Rajputana Museum Rep.*, 1915-16, p. 3.

locality. We have found some plates in Indore and Ujjain of Vākpati Muñja[16] and Bhojadeva.[17] Of Bhojadeva we have also found a copper-plate in Bānswārā[18] in Rajputana of V. S. 1076. Of the Paramāra king Jayasimha we have found an inscription of V. S. 1116 at Panāharā[19] in the same Banswara State in Rajputana. Again at Udaypur[20] near Bhilsa we have found some inscriptions of Udayāditya and Naravarman. Of the latter king who was a contemporary of Vijayapāla of the Ingnoḍā inscription we have found an inscription at Ujjain (in the Mahākāla temple) and at Bhilsa also. Of his son Yaśovaraman and again of Lakṣmīvarman we have found copper-plate inscriptions in Ujjain of V. S. 1192[21] and 1200[22] respectively.

All these inscriptions show that the Paramāras were practically paramount in Malva. How can the king Vijayapāla, who assumes paramount titles then hold possession of Ingnoḍā, which is in the middle of Dhar and Ujjain and Bhilsa in V. S. 1190. Are we to suppose that the Imperial titles of Vijayapāla and his predecessors (whom Rao Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha supposes to be descendants of the Pratīhāra sovereigns of Kanauj) are perhaps not to be taken in their strict sense and that they might have been simply feudatories of the Paramaras of Malvā though they do not say so expressly in the inscriptions? We have another instance where the paramount epithets had been assumed by kings who were feudatories of others. Mahārājādhirāja Niṣkalaṅka, governor of Siyādonī, was a feudatory of Mahārājādhiraja Devapāladeva, the Pratīhāra sovereign of Kanauj.[23]

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16 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV, p. 51; Vol. XIV, p. 160.

17 *Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 53.

18 *Ibid.* Vol. XLI, p. 201 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 18.

19 *Rajputana Museum Rep.*

20 *JASB.* Vol. IX, p. 549. (1840) *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 83. The Naravarman inscriptions are unpublished.

21 *Ibid.* Vol, XIX, p. 353.

22 *Ibid.* p. 352.

23 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 177 ff. and Vol. III, p. 266.

A FEW PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF KASHMIR.*

By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

Introduction.

I had the pleasure of paying three visits to Kashmir. During the last two of these visits, I copied some of the unpublished inscriptions of the beautiful valley. In my paper, entitled "The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir," read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society[1], I have published the texts and the translations of three of the inscriptions—two at Virnag and one on the Dal Lake. In my paper, entitled "An unpublished Inscription at the Margalla Pass near Rawalpindi," read before this Society[2], I have given a fourth inscription which belongs not strictly to Kashmir but to the frontiers of Kashmir. I submit in this paper, some more inscriptions which, as far as I know, are not published as yet. However, if they have been published, I beg to submit, that my copy and translation may be kindly accepted as serving the purpose of comparison. I request, that they may be taken, not as copies made by an expert, specially working on them as an archæologist, but as those of an amateur tourist, travelling with the eye and taste of an humble antiquarian.

Inscriptions on the Mosque of Shah Hamadan.

Shāh Hamadān.

The first set of inscriptions which I submit in this paper is from the Masjid of Shāh Hamadān in Srīnagar, situated on the right bank of the Jhelum between the third bridge, Fateh Kadal, and the fourth bridge, Zaina Kadal. The Masjid is known after a Mohamedan saint known as Shāh Hamadān. The original name of the saint was Mīr Sayyid Alī, but, as he came from the city of Hamadān in Persia, he was known as Hamadānī (*i.e.*, "of

* This paper was sent, through the Bombay Branch, to the Royal Asiatic Society, to be read on the occasion of its Centuary.

1 J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. 25, pp. 26-75.

2 Ibid, pp. 325-345.

Hamadān")[3]. Shāh Hamadān is said to have come to Kashmir in the time of Quṭb-ud-dīn (1373-1398 A.C.) and to have had a great hand in Mohamedanizing the country.

The Masjid.

They say that on the spot where the Masjid now stands, there ran a spring which was held sacred by the ancient Pandits of Kashmir, and that king Pravarsena II (79-139 A.D.) first built there a temple dedicated to Kālī. On the conquest of Kashmir by the Mohamedans, there came to the country many Mohamedans of the Sayyid and other religious classes, with a view to preach Mohammedanism, and, among these, Shāh Hamadān was the principal one. Among the many sacred Hindu places desecrated by the Mohammedan rulers, one was that of this Hindu temple. Quṭb-ud-dīn is said to have first built a Masjid over this place, using the materials of the temple for its construction. He built it in the memory of Shāh Hamadān who is said to have died at Pakhali near Abbotābād. Sikandar But-shikun is said to have extended this Masjid. It was destroyed by fire in 1479 A.D. and was rebuilt by Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh, with a single storey. Upto this time the Mohammedans of Kashmir were all Sunnī. Most of them are still Sunni. But in the time of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh, there came here a Shīāh, named Mīr Shams Irāqi. He, with a view to destroy this important place of worship of the Sunnis, said to the ruling king that he wanted to build a better two-storied Masjid. He pulled it down and then did not rebuild it. Thereupon, the queen of the Mohammedan king rebuilt it as a centre of the Sunni worship. In 1731, it was again burnt and was rebuilt by

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[3] Hamadān is the Ecbatana of the classical writers. Herodotus (Bk. I., 98) attributes its foundation to the first Median king Dioces. The Pahlavi Shatroihā-Airān (*vide* my translation of the Yādgār-i-Zarīrān, Shatroieā Airān, etc.) attributes it to Yazdajard I. Masūdī attributes it to Alexander the Great (Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. 9, p. 21). According to some Mohamedan authors, one Hamadān, son of Felewdj, son of Sem, son of Noah, founded it. (*Dictionaire Geographique de la Perse*, par B. de Meynard). According to Mustawfī, Jamshed founded it, and Dara of Dara rebuilt it (Ibid). The saint is generally spoken of as Shāh Hamadān (*i.e.* King Hamadān), because some of the Mohammedan saints are spoken of as Shāh. Cf. The practice of the Parsees addressing their priests as Pādshāh (king).

Ab'ul Barakat Khān. Thus reconstructed, it stands up to now. Like the Juma Masjid it is entirely built of wood. As large wooden structures, all built of wood, these two Masjids, especially the Juma Masjid, are worth seeing. The old structures of the Masjid having been twice burnt and once pulled down, the Persian inscriptions must be taken to be as old as only 1731 A.D.

The Outside Inscriptions of the Masjid.

There are two groups of Persian inscriptions on this Masjid of Shāh Hamadān. One is on the outside of the Masjid, over and near the door-way, and the other inside the qibla-gāh or arch of worship. Rev. Loewenthal [4] has published the inscriptions of the first group, *i.e.*, those which are outside on the entrance. So, I do not give them here. Here and there, I may translate them a little differently, but that is not a very important matter. However, this group of inscriptions require a few observations, which I will make here, before giving the second group of inside inscriptions, which, so far as I know, have not been published. Rev. Loewenthal has given the outside inscriptions in three sets or parts. I beg to draw attention to the following points in connection with these sets, with a view to help those who want to examine personally at some time the inscriptions, and with a view to give some proper amendations :

(*a*) The lines which Rev. Loewenthal has given second in his paper (p. 281), which begin with the words چون شد and which give the date of Shāh Hamadān's death, stand first in the inscription.

(*b*) The lines in his second (really speaking the first) set are one below another as given by him in his first set and not one by the side of another. On the other hand, the lines of the couplets in his first (really speaking the second) set are one by the side of another and not one below another, as given by him.

(*c*) In the case of the third set of lines as given by Rev. Loewenthal, the two lines in the first row occur on our right hand side facing the gate, the lines of the row being one under another. The

4 "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir". J.B.A.S. Vol. 33 (1865), pp. 278-90.

lines of the second row beginning with the words هر فیض are inscribed on the left hand side.

(*d*) Rev. Loewenthal has headed his second set (which in fact stands first) on the entrance door of the Masjid with the words تاریخ وفات وی (*i.e.*, "the date of his death"). I did not find them. During my third visit to Kashmir I visited the Masjid three times. The third visit was specially made to ascertain again, if the words occurred in the inscription, and I did not find them. So, I think, they were put in by Rev. Loewenthal by mistake. Possibly, somebody, connected with the Masjid, who accompanied him and helped him in copying the inscriptions, as they occasionally do when we visit the Masjids and try to read the inscriptions thereon, merely said to him in Persian, *by way of information*, that the inscription in question referred to his (Shāh Hamadān's) death (tārikh-i-wafāt-i-wae), and he mistook the words for the inscription itself and took them down.

(*e*) The inscription begins with the following well known Arabic prayer formula above the arched door: بسم اللّٰہ الرحمٰن الرحیم (In the name of God, the kind, the beneficent).[5] Rev. Loewenthal has not given it. It is below the above Arabic formula, that the lines of the first two sets of inscriptions, as given by him, run.

Now, I come to the second group of inscriptions: those in the inside of the Masjid. I give them below. They are not given by Rev. Loewenthal, perhaps, because he was not allowed to go in, or perhaps because, having been written on the painted wood of the Miḥrāb of the Qiblah, where it is generally a little dark he did not see them. During my two visits to the Masjid, though the days were clear and the visits were in the morning at about 9-30 a.m., I had to send for candles and a ladder to read the inscription.

The inside inscription.

[5] This well-known Arabic prayer formula is in the line of a well-known Parsi Pahlavi formula, *pavan sham-i Yahān*, as also in that of the well-known Pazand and Persian formula which precedes many Parsee prayers: بنام ایزد بخشایندہ بخشایشگر مہربان.

The inscription is on the wooden wall opposite to the entrance, round about the Miḥrāb or the arch.

Names of God inserted on the Miḥrāb.

(*a*) The wooden wall containing the Miḥrāb may be divided into three parts from top to bottom. The second or the middle part round the Miḥrāb has on its wooden panel the various names of God such as :

یا قادر *i.e.*, O Powerful !
یا ظاہر ,, O Known !
یا باطن ,, O Concealed !
یا والی ,, O Guardian !
یا صمد ,, O Eternal !

یا مالک المُلک ,, O Possessor of Countries !
یا ذوالجلال والاکرام ,, O Glorious and Venerable !
یا رب ال ہقا [6] ,, O True God !
یا تواب ,, O Relenting !
یا رب ,, O Lord !
یا منعم ,, O Beneficent !
یا مقتدر ,, O Powerful !
یا غفور ,, O Pardoner !
یا روف ,, O Merciful !

The Persian inscriptions proper over the Miḥrāb.

(*b*) The following lines are inscribed on the three sides of the Miḥrāb beginning from below on the right hand side as we stand facing it :

شاہباز ہوا لامکان است علی
شاہ جہان بی نشانست علی
شـــاہمـــدان علی و آل طہہ
نقد علی و علی ثانی است علی
.. .. [7]
بیرون [8] ز فیضہای عالم جسمانی است

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[6] Probably یاحق

[7] This line could not be read as it was hidden under a lamp socket.

[8] According to Professor Sarfraz in a note submitted to the Editor, miswritten for فضای

آنراه بود طریق شاه همدان
شاه همدانی که علی ثانی است

Translation. "'Alī [9] is like the falcon (shāh-bāz) of the air (which is) without any settled place. Ali, is the king of the world (which is) without any sign (bī-nishan). shāh Hamdān is like 'Alī and of the progeny (āl) of Muhammad. [10] 'Alī is the very spirit (naqd) of 'Alī and 'Alī of Hamadān is (as it were) the second 'Alī ..... He is above the favours of the corporeal world. That road (*i.e.*, of being above worldly favours) is the path (ṭarīq) of shāh-é-Hamadān. It is the road of shāh-é-Hamadan who is second 'Ali."

(*c*) The following four lines are inscribed in small letters over the Mihrāb :

هر فیض که در سابقه هر دو جهانست
در پیروی حضرت شاه همدانست
شاه همدان آنکه شاهنشاه جهانست
ای خاک برآن دیده که در ریب و گمانست

Translation.—"Every favour which is excellent[11] in both the worlds results from following (pae-ravi) of His Holiness Shāh Hamadān. Shāh Hamadān, who is the Emperor of the World. May dust fall on that eye (dideh) which is in doubts (raib) and scepticism (about him, *i.e.*, which doubts his piety and power)".

These four lines are a repetition of four outside lines on the entrance which form the first set in Rev. Loewenthal's paper, but with one difference, *viz.*, that while the third line in the inside runs as : شاه همدان آنکه شاهنشاه جهانست

[9] Mīr Sayyid 'Alī was the original name of Shāh Hamadān whose name the mosque bears.

[10] طهر for طهارت =pure. Here by "the Holy" is meant Muḥammad the Holy Prophet. Professor Sarfraz suggests the translation of the above lines as follows: "The Royal Falcon of the air of Spaceless Region is Ali. The King of the traceless World is Ali. The chief of Mankind and the family of T. H. . . . . and the second Ali is Ali of Hamadān. . . . . That way is the way of (adopted by) Shāh Hamadān. That Shāh-é-Hamadān who is the second Ali".

[11] 'Sābiqa'=pre-excellence, precedence, superiority.

that on the outside runs as :

شاه همدان بلکه شاهنشاه جهانست

Instead of the word *ān ke*, we have *balke*, but that does not make much difference in sense.

It seems that they were latterly written in the inside of the Masjid. The fact that they are inscribed in letters smaller than those of the other lines seems to show this. Again, below these lines we read the words :

عاقبت خیر باد ۱۲۰۸

("May it be good in the end. 1208 ".)

So, it seems that the ouside four lines on the entrance were inscribed in the inside, later on, in 1208 Hijri (1793 A.C.)

(*d*) The following lines are written over the arch in a straight line over the above set of lines :

حضرت شاه همداني كريم
آيتہ رحمت ز كلام قديم
بگفت دم آخر و تاريخ شد
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Translation. " His Holiness the generous Sh̲āh-é-Hamadān said an āyat (*i.e.*, verse) of kindness from ancient sayings, at the last breath (*i.e.*, at the time of death), *viz.*, ' bismillā alrahman al rahīm ' (*i.e.*, in the name of God, the kind, the beneficent) and (these words) became (his) date."

The Arabic formula of Bismilla gives us 786 Hijri (1384 A.D.) as the date of his death. This date (786 Hijri) corresponds with the date of his death, given in one of the above mentioned outside inscriptions which runs thus :

چو شد از گاه احمد خاتم دين
ز هجرت هفت صد و ستہ و ثمانين
برفت از عالم فاني بباقي
امير هر دو عالم آل ياسين

Translation.—"When seven hundred and eighty-six years Hijri passed from the time of Ahmad, the seal of religion, then there passed away from (this) transient world to the eternal world, the Amir of both the worlds of the family of Yāsīn".[13]

(*e*) The following inscriptions on wooden tablets some of which, having got out of their proper position, are nailed, and one of which is missing, are found on the top of the above mentioned inscriptions :

شاهباز کریم برمن درویش نگر
بر حالِ من خشتهٔ دلریش نگر
هر چند نیم لایق لطف و کرمت
بر من منگر بر کرم خویش نگر

Translation.—"O Generous royal falcon![14] Look towards me (who am) a *darwish*. Look to the condition of myself (who am) depressed and heart-broken. However unfit for your kindness and generosity I may be, do not look towards me, but look towards your own generosity [*i.e.*, if you find me faulty, kindly do not look to (*i.e.*, overlook) my faults and out of your own generosity of mind be kind to me]".

(*f*) Then follow the two Arabic lines with the word Allāh, on both sides and with the names of Allāh, Muhammed, Abūbakr, *Ḥasan*, 'Usmān and Āli on both sides.

The order of the above-said inscriptions over the inner Mihrāb is in the following order from up to down below :

(1) An Arabic inscription.
(2) Another Arabic inscription.
(3) Then the Persian inscription on wooden tablets, some of which, getting loose, have been nailed.
(4) Then the Persian inscription with large types which run up from below from the right hand side and then over the top and then run down on the left.

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[13] Ahmed was one of the names of Muhammad, and Yāsīn is one of his surnames.

[14] Shāh Hamadān is compared to the royal falcon (Sháh-báz) and is addressed as such.

(5) Then the inscription in smaller letters, which is also inscribed outside the Masjid on the entrance.

An inscription on an attached building.

There is an inscription on the outside of a building which is attached to the Masjid and which stands on the bank of the river above the place held sacred in honour of Kālī. It runs as follows :

تعلی اللہ چہ عالی بارگاہی
تجلی گاہ انوار است چو طور
فلک تاریخ تعمیرش ہمیجست
ملک گفتا بنا شد خانۂ نور
راقم عزیز سنہ ۱۲۶۹

Translation.—"O Exhalted God ! What an exhalted place of honour (bārgāh) it is ! It is a place of splendour of lights like a mountain (Ṭūr)[15]. Heaven inquired about the date of its erection. The angel said 'bina shud khāna-i-nūr' (*i.e.*, it was erected as the house of splendour). Writer Aziz year 1269."

The words بناشد خانہ نور give the date as (2+50+1+300 +4+600+1+50+5+50+6+200=) 1269. This year 1269 Hijri corresponds to A.C. 1852-53. It shows that it is a comparatively recent structure.

There are some later inscriptions on the entrance of the Masjid which are not the permanent inscriptions of the Masjid itself, but are rather votive inscriptions written on detached cardboard-like papers and pinned on the walls. One of such inscriptions is a copy of an inscription at Hazrat Bal, of which I will speak later on. Under this quotation of the Hazrat Bal inscription there runs the following Arabic line :

ومن دخل ہي کان آمنا

i. e. He who enters this place gets peace.

A Few Inscriptions in the Jumma Masjid of Srinagar.

During my visit of the Jumma Masjid on 11th July 1915, I saw the following three inscriptions :

[15] Ṭūr=a mountain. Mount Sinai is especially known by that name.

1. An inscription on the Gate, of the time of Jehangir giving the date of the construction of the Masjid after the destruction, by fire, of the original building.
2. An inscription of a Farmān or Order of Shah Jehan, ordering relief to the people of Kashmir in several directions.
3. An inscription on a stone tablet, divided into two parts and lying in a wing of the Masjid on the right hand side, while entering it.

Rev. Loewenthal gives, in his above mentioned paper, "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir" (*J.B.A.S.*, 1864, Vol. 33, No. 3, p. 278 *et seq.*), the last two of the above inscriptions, which he heads as "Inscription on and near the Great Mosque." He has not given the first inscription, which, as far as I know, is unpublished. It is on the very top of the gate. Rev. Loewenthal did not give it, perhaps, because it is mutilated, as the result of the fire that destroyed the original building. It is written at the top of the entrance in three rows, each row containing three misras (hemistichs). The right hand portion of the inscription is destroyed by wear and tear and by the fire above referred to. It seems that the present inscription is what remained after the fire in the reign of Aurangzeb. This king, though he rebuilt the Masjid burnt by fire, added no inscription to record his work of reconstruction. He, or his officers, simply got the old inscription of the time of Jehangir replaced, however mutilated, on the top of the gate. We do not find on the gate the whole of the inscription as I give it. The burnt or destroyed portion was given to me orally by a Maulvi in charge of the Masjid, who said, that his authority was some written manuscript, in which, perhaps, the inscription was recorded before the fire which occurred in the time of Aurangzeb. He said that even in the manuscript referred to by him, some lines were missing. Not having seen the manuscript itself, I am not in a position to say, whether, as he said, the missing lines are not found in the manuscript. I do not find fault with his memory, as he recited the lines pretty fluently. I enclose in parenthesis the portion which I did not find in the inscription on the entrance, but which was kindly given to

1. *The inscription on the entrance to the Masjid.*

me orally by him. The last line of the inscription runs vertically on the left hand side of the inscription.

[16] [نخستین مسجـــد جامع ز شه اسکنـــدر ثانی
عمارت یافت وانگه سوخت از تقدیر ربانی
پس از چندین حسن شاه] آنکه بود از نسل پاک او
[بشـــد بانی این مسجـــد هم] از توفیق ربانی
ولیکن از دو جانب نه ستون آراست نه سقفش
ز ابراهیم احمـــد ماگری شد راست تادانی
[ز هجرت نهصد و نه بود تا دور محمد شاه
که این جنت سرا شـــد زینت دین مسلمانی
بتاریخ هزار و بست و نه از] هجـــرت سید
بروز عید روزه سوختم در نوبت ثانی
ملک حیدر رئیس الملک در عهد جهانگیری
نهـــاد از نو بنایش باز روز عیـد قربانی
رسانده از اهتمام او باتمام
ملک حیدر رئیس الملک کشمیر
بروئی جهـد تاریخش خرد گفت

Translation.—"At first, the Jāme'Masjid was built by king Sikandar the second, and then it was burnt through the destiny of God. After some time, Ḥasan shāh who was from his holy descent, became the constructor[17] of this Masjid through divine guidance. But he erected neither the columns on both sides nor the roof[18]. Know that they were erected by Ibrāhim Aḥmad Māgrī. From Hijri nine hundred and nine till the time of Muḥammad shāh, this paradise-like building became the ornament of the Musulman religion. In the year one thousand and twenty-nine

16 The beginnings and ends of the lines given here are as they are found in the inscription itself.

17 Ar. Bānī, Maker; builder.

18 Saqf = roof.

of the Hijrat of Muḥammad[19], on the day of the 'Īd of Rauza (Ramazan), it was burnt down for the second time. Malik Ḥaidar Ra'is-ul-mulk (*i.e.*, the chief of the country) in the time of Jehangir laid its new foundation again on the day of the 'Īd of Qurban.

Malik Ḥaidar, the chief of the country of Kashmir, brought it to completion with care. By way of endeavour, *kherad* (*i.e.*, wisdom) is said to be its date.[20]

We learn from this inscription the following facts :

1. The Masjid was first built (Hijri 804=1401-2 A.C.) by Sikandar,[21] a king of Kashmir, who began reigning at the end of the 14th Century A.C.
2. After being burnt by fire it was rebuilt by one of his descendants Ḥasan shāh.
3. Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Māgrī [22], added a portion to the Masjid. This was in 909 Hijri (1503 A.C.) in the time of Muḥammad shāh.
4. On the day of the Ramazan 'Īd on 1029 (1619 A.C.) it was again burnt down.
5. Malik Ḥaidar, in the reign of Jehangir, rebuilt it and laid the foundation of the new building, perhaps on the very next 'Īd-i-Qurban.
6. The Hijrī year 804 (1401-2 A.C.) was the date of its first construction.

Pandit Anand Koul[23] thus gives a short history of the Masjid. It was—

"Built originally by Sikandar in 1404 with the materials of a large stone temple constructed by King Tárápida (693-97 A.D.). The roof of the four surrounding cloisters of the building is supported by two rows of pillars, 372 in all, the smaller ones measuring above 21 feet in height, while the loftier ones under the domes and spires being more than double that height—

[19] Saiyid was a title of the prophet.

[20] The word خرد (kherad) gives the date as 804, (خ= 600 + ر= 200+د =4), *i.e.*, 1401-2 A.C.

[21] He was known as Sikandar But-shakan, *i.e.*, the Iconoclast. He came to throne in 1394 A.C.

[22] Māgrī is said to be a Suni sect of the Mahomedans of Kashmir.

[23] Geography of the Jammu and Kashmir State, by Pandit Anand Koul (1913), pp. 56-57.

producing a most imposing effect. The court-yard measures 254 × 234 feet. There are remains of several stone temples round this mosque, whose builders are not known.

"The history of Jāma Masjid is of interest and it has passed through many vicissitudes. Thrice it was destroyed by fire and rebuilt: once in 1479, again in the days of Jehangir in 1619 and once more during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1674; the present structure dating from the days of Aurangzeb. In the time of Sikhs, it was closed for 23 years and was re-opened in 1841 by Ghulām Moḥi-ud-dīn, one of the governors of Sikhs. The site of the mosque is considered sacred by the Buddhists also, and even now, men from Ladākh visit the Jāma Masjid and call it by its old name Tsitsung Tsublak Kang."

With the help of our inscription, we are able to correct the date of the original construction of the Masjid, 1404 A.C. as given by Pandit Anand Koul. Our inscription gives the date in the word خرد (*kherad*, which, according to the *memoria technica* of *abjad* gives to us, as seen above, the date 804 Hijri). No exact day of the month and the month are given in our inscription, but as the Hijri year (804) began on 11th August 1401[24], it is certain, that the corresponding Christian year must be 1401 or 1402 and not 1404.

The date of the burning of the Masjid in the time of Jehangir 1619 A.C., as given by Pandit Anand Koul is supported by our inscription, which says that after its second destruction by fire, it was rebuilt by Malik Ḥaidar in 1029 Hijri. The Hijri year 1029 began on 8th December 1619. So the date as given by the inscription corresponds to that given by the Pandit. The date of its first re-construction as given by him is 1479 A.C. Our inscription does not give the date, but simply says that it was rebuilt by Ḥasan Shāh, a descendant of Sikandar, the first builder. This Ḥasan Shāh[25] was a prince of the Royal family, but he never ruled.

As Aurangzeb, on its third re-construction at his hand after its third destruction by fire, had not placed any new inscription on the Masjid with his date, we are not in a position to check from the inscription the date 1674 A.C. as given by Pandit Anand Koul.

[24] Wollaston's Persian Dictionary (*vide* the Chronological Table at the end).

[25] Sikandar came to throne in 1394 A.C., and Zain-ul 'Ābidīn succeeded him in 1417. He was succeeded by his son Ḥājī Khān in 1469 under the name of Ḥaidar Shāh. So Ḥasan Shāh may be one of his brothers, (Lawrence, *Kashmir*. pp. 190-93).

Sir Walter Lawrence, in his account of the Masjid in his very valuable book on Kashmir, refers to this inscription and says: "Verses on the door of the mosque state that the mosque was originally built by the great King Zain-ul-Abadin."[26] He is not correct in this statement. The verses do not speak of Zain-ul-'ābidīn as the first constructor but speak of Sikandar as such. Zain-ul-ābidīn came to the throne of Kashmir in 1417[27] A.C. (820 Hijri). Sikandar (But-Shekan) came to the throne in 1394 A.C. (797 Hijri).[28] Now the date of the first construction given in the inscription, as seen above, is 804 Hijri (*i.e.* 1401-02 A.C.). So, evidently this is the time of the reign of Sikandar and not of Zain-ul-'ābidīn.

Again, he speaks of its being "finally finished by Ibrahim and Ahmad Magre."[29] The inscription does not give any *wāw* (و) between the two names signifying "and". So, it seems that Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Māgrī is one name and not two as suggested by him.

This inscription confirms what I have said in my preceding paper on "The Moguls at Kashmir" about Ḥaidar Malik or Malik Ḥaider: He had a great hand in building some of the public buildings of the time of Jehangir. As it was often the case in the time of the Moghul Emperors, the literary men of the royal courts besides doing their literary work, held some great offices in the state. Abu'l Faẓl was a historian as well as a great official; so was Faiẓī. Malik Ḥaidar was a man of that stamp. He was a literary man writing a history of his country, and was also, as it were, an officer in charge of the Public Works Department of Shah Jehangir's time. In fact, the Maulvi of the Masjid who accompanied me in my inspection of the Masjid and its inscriptions, on being asked by me as to who Malik Ḥaidar was, used the English word "Engineer" about him. In this inscription, he is also spoken of as the Raīs-ul-mulk (*i.e.* the Chief or the Governor of Kashmir).

After I had completed the inscription on the top and got down from the ladder, I was told that the inscription bore in a corner the

26 *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 290.
27 *Ibid.* p. 191.
28 *Ibid.* p. 190.
29 *Ibid.* p. 290.

words عمل هريرام *i.e.* (in the time of the) management[30] of Hariram. As I had felt exhausted and as it had gone late, I did not go up the ladder again to verify whether the words were there. But taking it that the words were there, it seems that this Hindu Officer may be a superintendent acting under the instructions of his head officer Malik Ḥaidar.

2. The Inscription on the Masjid publishing a farman of Shāh Jehān.

There is on the gate of the Masjid an inscription which has nothing to do with the Masjid itself. It is a farmān of Shah Jehān ordering redress for some grievances of the people of Kashmir. It seems, that it was put up on the gate of the Masjid, so that all people attending it for worship may read it and be informed of the orders of the king for the removal of their grievances. Rev. Loewenthal has given the inscription of the farmān with his translation[31]. On my comparing Rev. Loewenthal's copy with the original on the Masjid, I found that his copy required about 18 corrections, but most of these were on trivial and insignificant points. On the whole, his work was very well done. In some cases, he seems to have intentionally amended the reading, as they seem to be the inscriber's error. His text therefore being almost all correct, I did not copy the inscription of the farmān but carefully noted down the small errors.

A list of amendations in Loewenthal's reading.

I give below a list of the changes and amendations required to be made in Loewenthal's reading:—

The inscription begins with the usual formal words of invocation of God الله اكبر which Loewenthal has omitted, though he has given them in his translation.

Line 7—The word فرمان farmān as given by Loewenthal does not occur in the inscription.

Line 10—Read باشد for باشند

Line 10—Read يكي بانست for يكي آنست. Loewenthal seems to have amended the text, and that very properly,

30 The word means rule or dominion. It also means action. So Prof. Sarfraz suggests that the name may be that of the inscriber himself.

31 J.A.S.B. Vol. 33 (1865), pp. 287-290.

as ب is unnecessary. We do not find it in the later portion of the farmān, where a similar construction occurs.

Line 15—Read زعفرانرا for زعفران

Line 17—Add و before در عمل

Line 24—Add و before رعایا

Line 24—Read این for آن

Line 25—Read وجه before معاف

Line 29—Read بمقتضامی for بمقتضای

Line 33—Read میرسیده for میرسد

Line 34—Read بعضي before از آن مردم

Line 35—Read فرق for قرق (Loewenthal's amended reading seems to be correct.)

Line 37—Add و before تغیر، and after ندهند

Line 37—Drop کم after هر کسکه

Line 38—Read فی تاریخ for فی التاریخ (Loewenthal's amendation seems to be correct.)

Line 39—For ۲۶ (in figures), read بست و ششم (in words).

Line 39—Read آذر for آدر

As it is an important historical inscription I give here my translation for easy reference.

Translation.

"God is great [32]

"Shāh Jehān, the brave king.

"A copy of the auspicious[33] Farmān (order) of His Majesty (who is) Solomon-like in dignity, the second Ṣāḥib qirān[34], which was published[35] on the seventh of Ilāhī month Asfandārmaz,

32 Rev. Loewenthal has omitted the words الله اکبر in the text of the Farmān, though he has translated them.

33 Sa'ādat-neshān= of happy signs.

34 Lord of a happy conjunction (of stars). This was a title first applied to Taimur and then secondly to his successor.

35 Sharf-i-varud yafte, lit. had the honour of appearance.

in compliance with the request of the humblest of the dependants, Aḥsan Allah bearing the title of Ẓafarkhān, in the matter of the removal of the wrongs (*bid'athā*) which were prevalent in the country of beautiful Kashmir, in the time of the previous subahdārs and which were the cause of the adversity of the subjects and inhabitants of this country.

" As[36] all our thought of exhalted desire[37] is directed and turned towards the contentment of (our) people, we have ordered, that several acts, which, within the boundaries (*khitta*) of beautiful Kashmir, were the cause of annoyance to the inhabitants of that country, may be cancelled[38]. Out of all (such) affairs (or cases), one is this, that at the time of gathering saffron, they carried away (poor) people with violence ('unf), so that they may gather saffron (from the plants) and they gave to these people a little salt by way of wages. These people are much harmed on this account. We have ordered that by no means (aslan) should anybody be molested for gathering saffron; and for that (saffron) which is in the district of favoured (sharīfa) Government lands (khalṣah), the labourers shall be made contented and paid their actual (wāgi'i) wages; and for that which is in the district in the possession of Jāgīrdārs, the whole of the saffron[39] may be given in the stock (jins) in charge of the Jagīrdār, so that they may gather it in any way they like. The second (affair) is this: that in the times of some subah-holders of Kashmir, on every *kharwār*[40] of rice[41], they took two dāms[42] on account of fuel[43] and[44] during the rule of I'tiqād khān,

36 Between the above few lines of heading and this portion, which is the Farmān proper, Loewenthal gives in his text, the word فرمان but we do not find it in the inscription itself.

37 Himmat-i walā nahmat.

38 برطرف باشد Loewenthal, has given باشنده instead of باشد

39 Loewenthal omits را after the word زعفران

40 Lit. an ass load. It was "the measure of a hundred Tabriz maunds" (Steingass). Loewenthal takes it to be 180 pounds.

41 Ṣhali=rice in the husk.

42 Dām=the fourteenth part of a rupee.

43 Haizam, Avesta *aesma* (skt. *idhma*).

44 Loewenthal has omitted this و.

four dāms for that purpose were taken on each *kharwār*. As, in this respect also, much harm resulted to (our) subjects, we have ordered, that our subjects shall be excused altogether from the demand of this obligation (wajh) and nothing shall be taken for fuel.

"Another (affair) is this, that from every village, the Government revenue of which was more than 400 *kharwārs* of rice, the Governors of that village took two sheep every year, and I'tiqād khān, during the time of his subah-ship, instead of sheep, took 66 dāms per every sheep. As in this respect also much harm resulted to the subjects, we have wholly ordered that (the impost) shall be cancelled, and that neither sheep shall be taken nor cash in the matter of this charge ('illat) and [45] the subjects shall be excused from the payment of the money (or obligation)[46].

"Again, I'tiqād Khān during the time of his subah-ship, was, showing an average, taking from each boatman (*malāhī*, sea-faring man), whether young or old or of tender age, 75 dāms, but the old practice was that for youth, per head, 60 dāms, for an old man 12 dāms and for one of tender age 36 dāms were taken. We have ordered that putting the former practice into force, the wrong (bid'at) which I'tiqād khāan had committed, shall be known as redressed and they shall not act as thereby required (muqtaẓa)[47]

" Another (affair) is this, that ṣūbahdārs, during the time of fruit (season), appointed somebody of their own (to stay) in every (large) garden or small garden, where they expected good fruit, so that they may look after the fruit for them (*i.e.*, ṣūbahdārs) and did not allow the owners of the large or small gardens to come in

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45 Loewenthal omits the و.

46 The inscription has گرفتن این وجہ but Loewenthal gives گرفتن آن

47 Loewenthal gives the words as مقتضای but, as given in the inscription, the word seems to be مقتضامی *i. e.* in the inscription there is a م before the final ي. As there is no Persian word like muqtaẓāmī, Loewenthal seems to have very properly corrected the reading.

possession of the fruit. From this cause, much loss results[48] to these people (gardeners), so much so that some (ba'ẕī)[49] of these people have removed (*i.e.* destroyed their) fruit trees. (So) we have ordered that the Ṣūbahdār shall make no seizure (qarq) of the fruits of anyone's large or small garden.

"It is necessary that (all) generous governors and efficient[50] civil officers (diwāniān) and executive officers of the present times or future of the Ṣūbah of Kashmir, should know these orders, which are required to be obeyed by all (jahān-muṭā) to be lasting and perpetual and[51] give no way to any change or alteration in these (above) regulations; and[52] anybody[53] who will give way to any change or alteration, shall be involved in the curse of God and the anger of the king.

Written on date[54] twenty-six month Āzar Ilāhī."

The Date of the Farmān.

It is very strange that, though we find in the Farmān, the day and the month of its issue (26th of Āzar) and the date of its being recorded in the books (7th of Asfandārmaẕ), we do not find the year. One cannot understand the reason. But let us try to arrive at some approximate year. We find from what is said in the wording of the heading of the Farmān, that it was issued at the request of Aḥsan Alla [55] Ẕafar Khān. So let us know something of the life of this personage.

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48 Loewenthal gives the word as *mīrasad* but the word in the inscription is *mi-rasidah*.

49 Loewenthal has omitted this word.

50 Kifayat farjām, lit. of sufficient or capable ends or issues.

51 Loewenthal has omitted this و.

52 Loewenthal has omitted this و.

53 Loewenthal repeats کہ after کسکہ. The inscription properly gives کسکہ.

54 Loewenthal gives فی التاریخ but in the inscription itself we do not find *fi*.

55 Loewenthal takes Aḥsan-Allah to be common words and not a proper name. He translates them as "May God be gracious to him." But he is wrong, the words form a part of the names, as we will see later on.

We learn the following facts of his life from the *Ma'athiru-l-umarā*[56]. His name is given there as Ẓafar Khān Khwājah Aḥsan Allāh (ظفر خان خواجہ احسن اللہ). At first, in the 19th year [57] of the reign of Jehangir, [58] he was at Kabul with his father Abū-al-Hasan, who was the Ṣūbahdār there. He had then the *Mansab* of 1500, the command of 600 troops and the title of Ẓafar Khān. In the last year of the reign of Jehangir, he was on a Manṣab of 2500 and in the command of 1200 troops. In the third year of Shah Jehān's reign (*i.e.*, 1630 A.C.), he took part in the conquest of Nasik and Tarbang (Trimbak). In the fifth year of Jehangir's reign (*i.e.* 1632), the ṣūbahship of Kashmir was taken away from the hands of I'tiqād Khān[59] and given to his (Ẓafar Khān's) father. He was his father's deputy there. The next year (*i.e.* 1633 A.C.) on his father's death, he was given the Ṣūbahship of Kashmir. He was then given a manṣab of 3000 and the command of 2000 troops. He was also given the grant ('atā) of a banner and drums. In the 7th year (1635 A.C.), when the King (Shah Jehan) went to Kashmir, he went as far as Bhatbhar (بھتبھر) to receive him. In the 10th year (1638 A.C.), he was sent to Tibet [60] (تبت). In the 11th year (1639 A.C.), he returned from there. In the 12th year (1640 A.C.), his Ṣūbahship of Kashmir ended, and he went to punish the people of Hazarat. He was there with Prince Muḥammad Murād. He was relieved from the work of this

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56 The Ma'athiru-l-umarā, by Nawab Ṣamsāmūd Daulā Shāh Nawāz Khān, edited by Maulawī Abd-ūr Raḥīm and Maulawī Mirzā Ashraf Alī (1890), Vol. 2, p.706.

57 *i.e.*, 1624-25 A.C. Jehangir ascended the throne on "Thursday-Jumādā Thanī 20th A.H. 1014 (October 24th 1605)". Jehangir's Memoirs translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 1.

58 In the Ma'athiru-l-Umara, in the account of the life of Ẓafar Khān, the Mogul kings are not named, but mentioned by their religious appellations. Jehangir is spoken of as Jannat-makānī (Vol. 11, page 756 1·14). Shāh-Jahān is spoken of as Firdous Ashiānī (*Ibid* p. 757 1.1) and Aurangzeb as Khuld-makānī, *i.e.* exalted to heaven. (*Ibid* p. 760 1.10).

59 In the Ma'athiru-l-umarā he is spoken of as Itiqād Khān Shāhpūr شاہ پور (Vol. 11, p. 757 1.15.)

60 Here our author gives some account of the growth of corn and fruits in Tibet.

expedition in the next year. Being under censure, he occupied no post for two years. In the 15th year (1642 A.C.), he was appointed Ṣūbah of Kashmir for the second time. The King, when he, in the spring of the 18th year of his reign, visited Kashmir, honoured with his presence the garden of Ẓafar-ābād which was made by Ẓafar Khān. In recognition of his upright conduct (ḥusn sulūki), whereby he had pleased the subjects and inhabitants (of Kashmir), he was given a promotion (iẓāfa) of a command of 1000 troops. Then he was promoted in manṣabship. He was appointed governor of Tatta (in Sind). Then he had again to go into retirement ('uzlat). He had again risen to the manṣab of Rs. 40,000. He died in the 6th year of the reign of Aurangzeb in 1073 Hijri.

We find from this account of the life of Ẓafar Khān, that Shah Jahan visited Kashmir twice,—for the first time, in the 7th year of his reign, *i.e.* 1021 Hijri [61] (1605-1606), and for the second time, in the 18th year, *i.e.* 1032 Hijri (1622-23). The second visit is mentioned in the Ma'athiru-l-umara, as having taken place in the spring. It seems that Ẓafar Khān must have drawn the attention of Shāh Jahān to the exactions of the former Governors of Kashmir during the second visit of the king, because according to this book it was during the second visit that Ẓafar Khān made a very favourable impression on the king on account of his upright conduct and was given a promotion. Our author mentions in his account of the second visit, that the subjects of Kashmir were pleased by the rule of Ẓafar Khān. Again, the Farmān speaks of the people of the country as sakana (سکنہ) and ra'āyā (رعایا) *i.e.* as inhabitants and subjects, and the king wants to please them by redressing certain of their grievances. We find, that the Ma'athiru-l-umarā, while speaking of how Ẓafar Khan pleased the people, speaks of them as raāyā and sakanā (p. 759 l.15).

We thus see, that the farmān may have been issued by Shah Jahān during the second visit, during the 18th year of his reign, *i.e.* in Hijri 1032 (A.C. 1622-23). As the visit was in spring, the time must be some time after March 1923.

[61] The Hijri year 1021 commenced on the 4th March 1612 and the Hijri year 1032 on 5th November 1622.

The Parsi names of the months in the inscription of the farmān draw our attention. We know that the names of the months are according to the Ilāhī calendar introduced by Akbar. Jehangir and Shah Jahan had both continued this calendar. Aurangzeb did away with its use. So, the names are not properly understood now. The Maulavi who was at the Masjid, when I visited it, did not know the origin of the use of these names. On being asked, he said that the name Asfandārmaẓ was Turkī and that as the Mogul Emperors had some relations with the Turks, they used the Turkī name.

I give below a third inscription in the Jame' Masjid at Kashmir. It is given by Loewenthal as having existed on a well. At present, there exists no well there. On inquiry during my visit in 1918 A.C., I learnt that the well was filled up about five years ago, *i.e.* in about 1913 and a road has been made over it. However fortunately, the inscription stone had been removed from the well and during my visit I saw it in the Masjid itself. I give the inscription, which can be taken as a revised copy of the inscription, correcting some errors in Loewenthal's Text.

3. *The Inscription on a Well at Jame' Masjid.*

محمد بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله [62]

برآمد چشمهٔ فیض الهی
بحسن سعی مشتی خاکساران
بتوفیق خدا این کار محمود
گرفت انجام و مشکل گشت آسان
خلوص نیت و صدق ارادت
شده صرف بنایش از دل و جان
پی دنیا و دین این آبرو بس
که شوید روی خود زو هر مسلمان
ازین چشمه بانی چشم دارد
که [63] باید شست و شو طومار عصیان

62 Loewenthal has omitted this line of invocation.

63 According to Prof. Sarfraz the word seems to be miswritten for یابد

گناه خلق گردد شسته زین آب
که باشد [64]منبعش دریای عرفان

بود وجه کرایه از دکاکین
پی ترمیم حوضی فیض جریان

خدایا بانیش را از تفضل
بدست خود بده تشریف ایمان

که دارد ورد خود این بیت اوستاد
ز روی التجا باچشم گریان

چو نامم در ازل محمود کردی
الهی عاقبت محمود گردان

بدریای تفکر رفته آگه
پی تاریخ این فرخنده بنیان

خضر گفتا که جاری فیض ما باد
همین تاریخ بنویس ای سخن دان

الهم اغفر لبانیه ولوالد یاغفار سنه ۱۱۵۲

Translation.

" God Muḥammad.

" In the name of God, the Merciful, the Kind. (This) well [65] of Divine favour was built by the handsome effort of the most humble of humble persons. Maḥmūd finished this work by the guidance of God and difficulty has been relieved. Sincerity of intention and truth of purpose from heart and soul have been spent on its construction. That every Musulman will wash his face from it (its water) is a sufficient honour (for me both) worldly and religious. The builder hopes that by (the construction of) this well, the account of sins shall be washed off and cleaned, that the

64 Loewenthal has مدعش which seems to be a printer's mistake.

65 Chasmah, " source, fountain."

sins of all people may be washed away by this water, because its origin is from the sea of knowledge. The income of the rent of the shops shall go towards the reparation of the reservoir flowing [66] (or running) over with divine favour. O God ! give to the builder, by your own hand, by way of honour [67] exhalting good faith, because, by way of entreaty[68] (and) with imploring (lit. weeping) eyes, he keeps in daily practice [69] this couplet of his teacher. When, in the very beginning, you have made my name Maḥmūd, O God ! let it, in the end (also) be Maḥmūd (lit. praised). In the sea of thought, for the date of this happy structure [70] this has gone current (lit. informed). Khazr said : "*Jārī faiz-i mā bād* (*i.e.*, May my favour remain continuous). O wise man ! write this as its (structure's) date.

O God ! [71] O Pardoner ! [72] forgive the builder [73] and his father [74]. Year 1152.''

Loewenthal gives the date as ۱۰۵۲ (1052) in the text of the inscription, and 1056 in his translation. Both the dates are wrong. The date 1056 in translation is evidently wrong, as he seems to have read the Persian numeral ۲ two for ۶ six. As to 1052, that also is wrong, because the chronogram of the date جاري فيض ما باد gives 1152 as the date and not 1052. I think, that Loewenthal seems to have omitted to read the first number 'one' and seems to have taken a nuqṭah under a Persian letter in the line above to be a figure for a zero and so read ۱۰۵۲ (1052) for ۱۱۵۲ (1152). The above chronogram thus gives the date as 1152. (ج=3, ا=1, ر=200, ی=10, ف=80, ی=10, ض=800, م=40, ا=1, ب=2, ا=1, د=4).

The builder of the well, Maḥmūd, referred to in the above inscription, was, as I was told at the Masjid, one (خواجہ محمود دیدہ مری) Khwaja Maḥmūd Dīdeh-marī. I was told, that he is referred to in a book called Tarīkh-i-Ḥasan. He was a merchant and had also built a tank in Qariah-i Chera in the

66 *Jarayan*, "flowing or running."
67 *Tafazzul.* 68 Iltijā. 69 *Ward*, "practice of speaking often."
70 *Bunyan.* 71 *Allahum* God.
72 *Ghifar* "Pardoner, God." 73 *Al bani.* 74 *Al Walid.*

province (paragneh) of Cheharat (چہارت). He was known as Maḥmūd Dīdah-mari from the name of his place. I was told that the name of the place was connected with the visit of, and stay at, the place by Nūr Jehān. She was spoken of as the Dideh (eye) for her beauty.

An Inscription at Hazrat-Bal.

The Shrine of Hazrat Bāl.

This shrine is situated on the Dal lake. As said by Sir W. Lawrence [75] :

"The sanctity of Hazrat Bāl is due to the presence of one of the Prophet's hairs, which was brought to Kashmir from Medina by Saiyid 'Abdullāh in 1111 A.H. Saiyid 'Abdullāh sold the hair to a merchant, Nūr Dīn, for one lakh of rupees, and Nūr Dīn exhibited the relic in Srinagar. . . . . Four other shrines in Srinagar boast that they possess a hair of the Prophet. . . . . The hairs are exhibited six times in the year at the various shrines, but the villagers all go to the Hazrat Bāl shrine."

I had the pleasure of seeing it in the month of May or June during my second visit to Kashmir. The following inscription in the Shrine refers to the hair :

محتاجان را بوقت حاجت طلبي
موی مدد ست رسول عربي
تاریخ نزول با یکی ہاتف گفت
کشمیر مدینہ بشد از موي نبي
۱۱۱۱ ہجری

Translation.

"To the needy, at the time of their solicitation, the hair of the Prophet of Arabia is a help. A guardian angel (hātif) said to one, as the date of its arrival, 'Kashmir became Madineh by the hair of the Prophet.' Hijri 1111."

The last line forming the chronogram thus gives us the date of the arrival of the hair from Madineh as 1111 Hijri (1699 A.C.) :

کشمیر مدینہ بشد از موی نبی =570+109+306+8+56+62 =1111.

It is said of the above Nūr Dīn (خواجہ نورالدین) that he lived in a village named Ishkhari. He had gone to Bijapur for trade, and while there, had purchased the hair from a Saiyid, who

75 The Valley of Kashmir, p. 299.

said, he had brought it from Madineh. The hair was kept at first in the garden of Ṣadiq-khān (صادق خان), who was a great minister of the reign of Jehangir. He was a pious Mohammadan and had built the monastery of Ṣhaikh Wajīhu-d-dīn at Ahmedabad[76]. The hair was placed in a building in the garden of Ṣādiq Khān on the Dal lake and the place took the name of "Haẓrat Bāl, *i.e.*, "the place (bāl) of the Haẓrat (Prophet)." The word *bāl* may be taken to be arabic *bāl* meaning 'heart soul' or perhaps it is P. *bāl* meaning "the hair on the pubes" (Steingass. In Sanskrit also *bâl* बाल is hair.

We read the following inscription on a prominent place of Haẓrat Bāl :

محمد عربي كابروي هردو سراست[77]
كسيكه نيست خاك درش خاك برسراو

Translation.

"May Dust be on the head of that person who is not (considering himself as) the dust of the door of him, *i.e.*, Muḥammed-è-'Arabī (*i.e.*, of Arabia) who is (the source of) honour to both the worlds."

AN INSCRIPTION ON A BRIDGE AT RENAWARI.

We find the following inscription on a bridge at Renāwar on our way to the Dal lake by boat :

بر سنگ نوشته بود نقاش
دنيا نكند وفا تو خوش باش
گر جمع كني تمام عالم
باخود نبری دو دانه خشخاش

Translation.

" The sculptor had written on a stone : 'The world is not faithful. You be cheerful. Even if you gather (in life) the whole world you will not carry (on death) two grains of poppy'."

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[76] See *Memoirs of Jehangir*, by Rogers and Beveridge, I., p. 425.

[77] We find this inscription quoted in a votive tablet at the Masjid of Shāh Hamadān.

AN INSCRIPTION ON THE ZIYĀRAT GĀH OF SḤĀH MAKḤDŪM.

Sḥāh Makḥdūm and a Rain ceremony connected with his name.

The year 1915, the year of my third visit to Kashmir, was a year of scarcity. The rain had kept off. I would have ordinarily visited this Masjid, but I was specially drawn towards it by a rain-imploring ceremony, which lasted for several days and which I saw first on 8th June 1918 on the banks of the Jhelum near the mosque of Sḥah Hamadān. I saw a number of Mohammadans filling up *gharrahs* (water-pots) with water from the river Jhelum. They got these pots blessed at the Masjid and carried them to a tank near Hari Parbat, a hill fort of Akbar. The tank was near the tomb of Pīr Makḥdūm. I was told, that all the Mohammadans of Kashmir, male or female, old or young, adults or children, would thus, at their leisure, carry water from the Jhelum and pour it in the above tank. At least, one member of each family must be one of such carriers. They did so for a number of days, till the tank was full. When I visited the tank on the 10th of June, it was a sight to see a number of people, devotionally carrying the water from different directions and trying to fill up the tank. It then still wanted a few feet to be filled up.

The water could be brought from any part of the river or lake, but they thought it meritorious to take it from the river near the mosque of Sḥāh Hamadān. Monday and Friday were the days when they most did the work of carrying the water. It was Monday when I visited the tomb of Sḥāh Makḥdūm and the tank near it. So, I saw hundreds of people coming to the tank with their water-pots and emptying them there. Some came in processions with banners and drums. Having poured the water into the tank, they applied the water of the tank to their eyes. The tank is about 30 square feet. The ceremony of filling it up had begun about 5 or 6 days before my visit and they expected that it would take still about 5 days to fill it up.

The ceremony was supposed to be a rite of humiliation before God asking for forgiveness of sins, if that was the cause of His displeasure and of His keeping off the rain. It is in keeping with a recent inscription put up there as a votive inscription (1326 Hijri).

یک نظر بر حال زار عاصي بیچاره کن
زان نظرهاي که خاک تیره را چون زر شد ست

Translation.

"Have a look on the miserable condition of a helpless sinner—a look whereby the darkest of dust becomes (brilliant) like gold."

The reason, why Shāh Makhdūm was specially invoked and why the tank near his tomb was the scene of a rain-ceremony, seems to be, that he had once uttered a curse in the matter of water.

"He had no honour in his own village (Tajar), and his companions laughed at his preaching and his prophecies, and insisted on his taking his share in the *corvée* of the village. Makhdūm Ṣahib or Hazrat Sulṭān as he is often called, left Tajar and cursed his people—they should want water not only for their crops, but even for their drink. The curse came true for Tajar and Zainagīr are dry to this day ."[78]

It was during this visit that I copied the following inscription on the gate of the tomb of shāh Makhdūm:

باب و آب و تاب از مهر عالم تاب
بحال ما که کحل دیده از خاک درت داریم
بدل گفتم که خواهم درّ تاریخي بکف آرم
ملک دست دعا بر داشت من آمین کنان گفتم
تعالي الله چنین باید در عالي جناب ما
الهي باد در هر باب زین در فتح باب ما
سنه ۱۲۷۲

Translation.

" The door, the splendour and the (awe-striking) light (of this place come) from the world illuminating sun (Meher). I keep myself in this condition that the collyrium of my eyes is from the dust of your door (*i.e.* I humiliate myself). I said to myself : 'I wish to bring the pearl of the date in my hands.' The angel raised his hands for prayers. Uttering 'Amen', I said : 'God is exhalted. The door of my respected great ones should be like this, O God !

[78] Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

May my door be opened (lit. conquered) in every matter by (the help of) this door (*i.e.* May my visit of the door of this Ziyarat-gāh always help me in every direction)'."

The date is the date of the last reparation of the Masjid. The last line of the inscription serves as the chronogram of that date 1272.*

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* The figures are as follows:—

ا = 1 ل = 30 ء = 5 ي = 10 ب = 2 ا = 1 د = 4

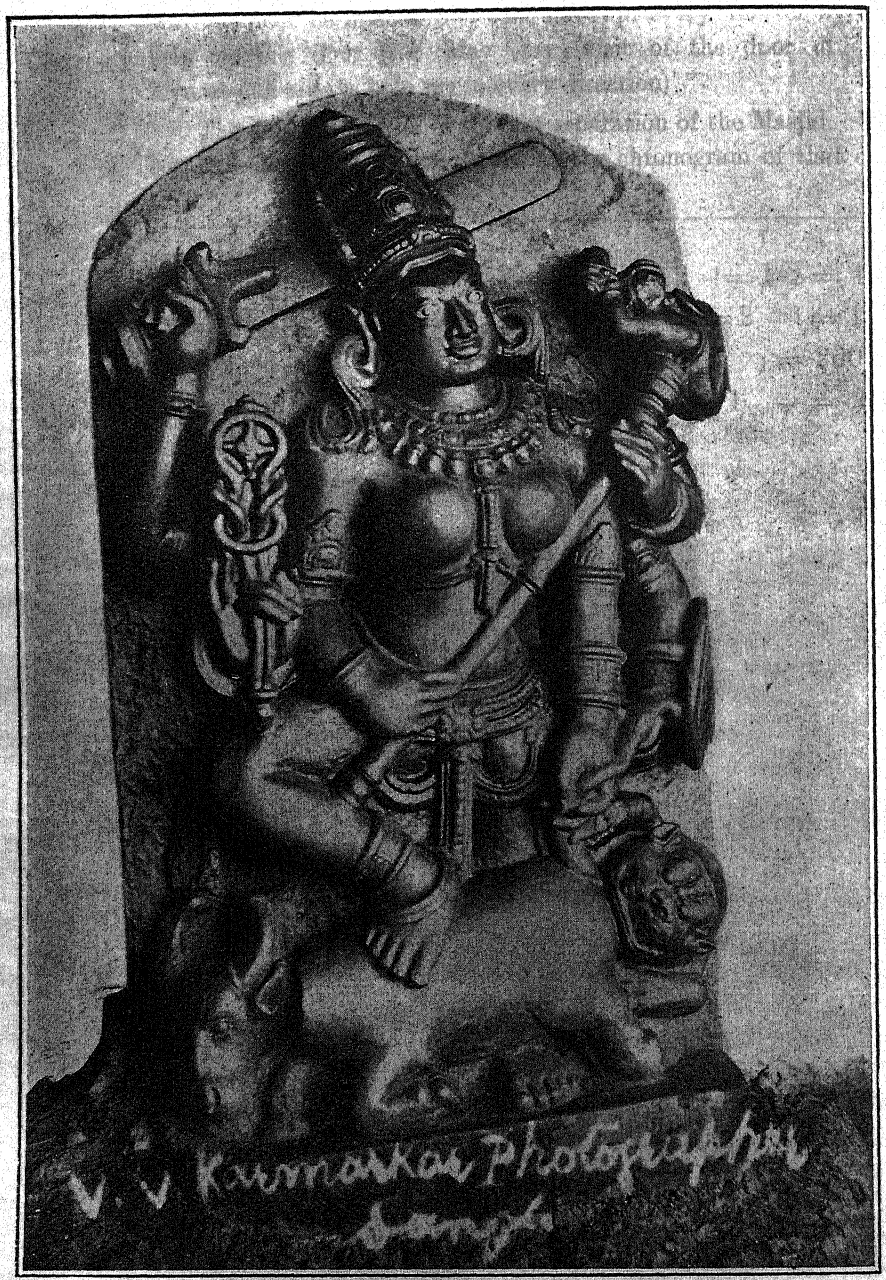
د = 4 ر = 200 ء = 5 ر = 200 ب = 2 ا = 1

ب = 2 ز = 7 ي = 10 ن = 50 د = 4 ر = 200

ف = 80 ت = 400 ح = 8 ب = 2 ا = 1 ب = 2

م = 40 ا = 1

The whole gives 1272 as the date.


V. V. Kunnarkar Photographs

BRIEF NOTES

The Image at Gudha

By Y. R. Gupte, B.A.

An interesting discovery was made at Gudha in the Patan Taluka, Satara District, Bombay Presidency, in 1914. A potter while his spade got to work hardly dreamed that a venerable object was underneath. Shortly, however, he was fortunate to lay bare an image to see the light of the twentieth century. It is almost intact, no part of it being roughly handled. It appears to have been carefully laid, face downwards, probably through fear, during troublous times. A temple is now erected in its honour at a cost of Rs. 3,000, the foundation stone of which (Mr. E. W. Trotman, I.C.S., Assistant Collector, Southern Division, Satara, kindly informs me) was laid by his predecessor, Mr. T. T. Kothawala. The villagers are said to be proud of the goddess found in their very midst.

The image represents (as will be seen from the accompanying plate) the goddess Durgā in her form known as Mahiṣāsuramardinī. This is evident from the figure of the Mahiṣāsura or the demon who had assumed the form of a buffalo and was harassing the world. The goddess is represented as trampling him down with her left foot. Before the demon passes away, his real face is seen (figured on the proper left). The left foot of the goddess is resting on the earth. In her lowest left hand is seen a serpent, the middle one wields a shield. The uppermost left one holds a triśūla. In the lowest right hand of the deity is seen a cakra (discus), the middle one holds a sword with which she is dealing the fatal blow. In her uppermost right hand is the rod of the triśūla. The armlets are heavy and are similar to those worn by the Marwari women of the present day. The sculpture is 3′ 2″ high (including the pedestal which is 3″) and 1′ 11″ broad. It is cut out of black basalt.

The peculiarity about the goddess is that she is six-armed. According to the Devīmāhātmya, she is either to have four or eight arms. There is room for enlightenment on this point.

What inferences can be drawn? The Devīmāhātmya forms a part of the Mārkaṇḍéya Purāṇa. Whatever the date of the Purāṇa may be (it was long believed to be a work of the 10th or the 11th century), it is beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Māhātmya must have been composed before the 7th century A.D., since some of the verses it contains have been found incised on a stone belonging to that time (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, page 302). It then follows that the six-armed image must have come into vogue after the 7th century. This is the upper limit. The head-dress (mukuṭa) of the goddess is similar to the head-ornaments of the images belonging to the 11th or 12th century A.D. in this part of the Deccan. The front ornament on it is a degenerate form of a kīrti-mukha. The hands and legs are rather too fat for the image and a little disproportionate. In fact the period when symmetry was the ideal cherished (for instance in the case of images in the main cave at Elephanta) had passed, though in the general moulding, the necklace, girdle and armlets vivid ancient traces are still discernible. On the strength of the evidence adduced, therefore, the sculpture can with some certainty be assigned from about the 10th to the 12th century A.D.

A Note on the Excavations at Nalanda and its History

By Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.

In my recent visit to the excavations that are being made on the spot of the famous Nālandā university, I could see that some of the monasteries had been erected on the ruins of earlier ones, as noted by Mr. J. A. Page in the exploration report. [1] This fact cannot be explained but by supposing a temporary destruction of all or at least some of the buildings of that institution. In later times new buildings were put up over the remains of the previous ones.

Some events connected with the history of Magadha will perhaps throw some light upon this archæological puzzle.

It is now beyond doubt that the earliest date we can ascribe to this famous Buddhist university goes no further back than the

[1] *A.S.I., Report*, 1923-4, p. 70.

year 450 A.D.; [2] otherwise the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien would have reported his visit to the Saṅghārāma when describing his journey from Magadha to Rājagṛha in the beginning of the 5th century. He says no more than this: "One yojana to the south-west, they came to Nālandā the village where Śārīputra was born and whither he returned to pass away. Here a pagoda was raised, which is still in existence." [3]

Of the five kings mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as benefactors of the Nālandā institution, only one has been identified.[4] Bāläditya was evidently the Magadha sovereign who defeated Mihirakula and expelled this tyrant from Central India; his name was Narasiṁha-Gupta.

Now, the same Chinese pilgrim describes the cruelties of Mihirakula with the Buddhists of his kingdom. "He then issued an edict to destroy all the (Buddhist) priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining." [5] The atrocities of the Hūṇa king were such that when Narasiṁha-Gupta heard of them, in sign of protest "he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute."[6] The subsequent war between Mihirakula and Narasiṁha-Gupta is narrated in detail by Hiuen Tsian. [7] In his account there are, no doubt, some portions which are unreliable, for instance the episode of Narasiṁha-Gupta's mother giving her friendly advice to the Hūṇa chief after his defeat. But the whole account cannot be rejected, as I have shown elsewhere.[8] Suffice it to say that Mihirakula invaded the kingdom of Magadha and passed across it down to the shore in his pursuit of Narasiṁha-Gupta, who had fled to and hid himself "in the islands of the sea." Now this inroad of the Hūṇa army was bound to be fatal to the kingdom of Magadha and specially to the Buddhist religion then protected and patronised by the Gupta monarch. Mihirakula, beyond doubt, in his

[2] Cf. Samaddar, *The Glories of Magadha*, p.111.

[3] Giles, *The Travels of Fahsien*, p. 49.

[4] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 168-70.

[5] Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 168-71.

[8] Heras, "The Final Defeat of Mihirakula" *Ind. Hist. Quart.*

hatred of Buddhism destroyed all its buildings, that he found in his way, and killed all its priests,—cruelties which he was shortly afterwards to repeat in his exile of Kashmir.[9] Nālandā university was not far from the capital Pāṭaliputra, and its fame had also reached Mihirakula's ears. This was probably the occasion on which its buildings and Stūpas were for the first time destroyed.[10]

Several years later another king whose enmity against Buddhism is well known entered the kingdom of Magadha. I refer to Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa in Eastern Bengal. He entered Magadha as a friend of Rājyavardhana after the defeat of the king of Malwa, Devagupta, but in secret alliance with the latter. Then he treacherously murdered Harṣa's brother[11]; and we cannot suppose he set out for his kingdom without taking action against Buddhism, so extensively spread throughout Magadha. It was most likely at this time that he destroyed the sacred places of Buddhism, as related by Hiuen Tsiang. "Lately Śaśāṅka-rāja," says he, "when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha, forthwith came to the place where that stone is for the purpose of destroying the sacred marks (Buddha's foot-prints). Having broken it into pieces, it came whole again, and the ornamental figures as before; then he flung it into the river Ganges.[12] "In later times," the same Hiuen Tsiang goes on to say, "Śaśāṅka-rāja, being a believer in heresy, slandered the religion of Buddha, and through envy destroyed the convents and cut down the Bodhi tree (at Buddha-Gayā) digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but yet he did not get to the bottom of the roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of sugar-cane, desiring to destroy them entirely, and not leave a trace of it behind."[13] Such was Śaśāṅka's hatred towards Buddhism. Hence we cannot imagine this king passing so near Nālandā, the great centre from which

9 Cf. Rājataraṅgiṇī (Dutt's translation), I, pp. 19-21.

10 We hear of no wars in Magadha during the time of the Imperial Guptas. So we may rightly suppose that this was the first destruction of Nālandā.

11 Harsa-Carita (Cowl's translation), p. 178; Hiuen Tsiang, Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 210.

12 Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 91.

13 Ibid., p. 118.

Buddhism was going to spread to Tibet, China and Corea without leaving there the effects of his bigotry. That most likely was a new occasion on which the buildings of Nālandā were razed to the ground and the professors and the students dispersed and perhaps killed.

Still further information is given by the Chinese pilgrim, which seems to confirm this supposition. The Harṣacarita introduces prince Harṣa wishing to see " the smoke cloud from this vilest of Gauḍa's (Śaśāṅka's) pyre ;" [14] and Hiuen Tsiang represents him as commanding his troops to proceed against Śaśāṅka. "And now he commanded his ministers, saying : 'The enemies of my brother are unpunished, as yet, the neighbouring countries not brought to submission ; while this is so my right hand shall never lift food to my mouth. Therefore do you, people and officers, unite with one heart and put out your strength.' Accordingly they assembled all the soldiers of the kingdom, summoned the masters of arms. . . . He went from East to West subduing all who were not obedient. . . . After six years he had subdued the five Indies." [15] Evidently the efforts of Harṣa to expel his brother's murderer from the kingdom of Magadha were crowned with success. Now Hiuen Tsiang himself, after enumerating the relations between the Gupta kings and the university of Nālandā, adds the following : "After this a king of Central India built to the North of this (place) a great *saṇghārāma*. Moreover he built round these edifices a high wall with one gate." [16] In this king of Central India appearing after the Guptas we must recognise the great Harṣavardhana rebuilding the university after having driven Śaśāṅka to his kingdom of Gauḍa, just as Pūrṇavarman had repaired the damages caused by Śaśāṅka at Buddha-Gayā. [17]

Between these two dates at which Nālandā was apparently destroyed (first by Mihirakula and then by Śaśāṅka) there occurred in Magadha several wars, which by the natural havoc consequent on any war, must have been similarly destructive at Nālandā.

[14] Harṣa-Carita, p. 187.
[15] Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 213.
[16] Ibid., II, p. 170.
[17] Ibid., p. 118.

The Apshad inscription of Ādityasena mentions two defeats inflicted on king Īśānavarman, the first by Kumāra-Gupta II and the second by Dāmodara-Gupta; while Īśānavarman himself had previously defeated the Hūṇas. Then Mahāsena-Gupta won a victory over Susthivarman.[18] The Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman also refers to the victories of this monarch over the lord of the Andhras "who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants," over the Śūlikas "who had an army of countless galloping horses," and over the Gauḍas "living on the seashore."[19] I must also remark that the Hūṇas and the Gauḍas are counted among the enemies defeated by the Maukhari king Īśānavarman. The former had already left marks of the inroad through Magadha in the first destruction of Nālandā, whilst the latter were soon afterwards as destructive as Mihirakula's hordes, at the time of the extinction of the Maukhari dynasty. A partial destruction of Nālandā caused by these wars (some of which were indoubtedly fought in the territory of Magadha) may well have taken place. But the fact that Nālandā was overthrown by Mihirakula first and then by Śaśāṅka rests on much more solid grounds; and though it is not recorded in any contemporary authority, cannot be reasonably denied.

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18 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 206.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 14, p. 120.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE DIALECT OF THE GYPSIES OF WALES. BY JOHN SAMPSON, HON. D. LITT., OXON.—OXFORD, AT THE CLARENDON PRESS, MCMXXV.

Even philology has got its romance. The book under review at any rate owes its origin to a spirit of romance rather than research which led the author "while still a boy to the acquisition of their [the Gypsies'] tongue, the better to gain an inner understanding of this peculiar people". Such is the writer's own confession. Thanks to the dogged perseverance in his search—it would be wrong to call it good luck—he finally met Edward Wood, a Welsh Gypsy harper at Bala and a descendant of the eponymous Abram Wood reputed King of the Gypsies who was born before the close of the seventeenth century. In Abram Wood's clan the oldest and purest form of Anglo-Romanī was preserved and spoken, and Sampson was thus so fortunate as to find in "the fastnesses of Cambria" the Gypsy language elsewhere extinct for decades or living in a mutilated and disfigured condition. So eagerly did our author now pursue the hunt after the discovered language and lore that he "became acquainted with almost every Welsh Gypsy of the original stock". After Edward, Matthew Wood was laid under contribution, his mother "Tau," his son "Turpin," his uncle and aunt. Sampson gathered his information from Gypsy "harpers, fiddlers, fishermen, horse-dealers, knife-grinders, basket-makers, wood-cutters, fortune tellers, and hawkers". He filled his note-books, over a hundred in number, "while sitting beside the camp-fires of the Gypsies, or travelling in their company, on heaths, by river-banks, at fairs, in village inns, or listening to their stories in the barns, where by ancient use and wont they are allowed to lodge at night". Nor were the spoils of this hunt easy to grasp. "At one moment he [the Gypsy] may deny all knowledge of a phrase or idiom which but a little while before has fallen from his lips, and the learner has perforce to await its re-appearance with what patience he may. At another, some simple mention may affect his memory like a subterranean explosion, hurling to the surface a mass of half-forgotten

words and expressions recovered from the depths of the past." The author has "more than once taken advantage of this tendency when a company of Gypsies showed a disposition to taciturnity and by uttering some extravagant or heterodox opinion which provoked a flood of denial or discussion," has he "secured specimens of vigorous and racy Romanī". "Hand in hand with the field work of collecting has proceeded" in the making of this book "what may be termed the laboratory side of the study, or scientific analysis" of the author's material. And for very good reasons, which will be as easily guessed as they will be readily agreed to, the writer thought it might be useful if he "attempted something in the nature of a complete grammatical survey of Romanī, especially since there exists no English work which serves to introduce the reader to the fascinating study of Gypsy philology, and the phonetic laws upon which it is based". To venture upon an historical and comparative description of the language in order to make this grammatical survey complete was perhaps taking a risk of the nature of which the author probably was better aware at the end of his work than at the beginning.

It needs no apology to write a book of XXIII + 230 + 419 pages on the Gypsy language. The Gypsy tongue has attracted the attention of linguists like Pott and Ascoli, of scholars of the Slavonic languages of the rank of Miklosich, of Sanskritists of the reputation of Pischel. It is not only as important as any of the modern Indian vernaculars, but from an historical and comparative point of view even more important, because it seems to have preserved certain forms and sounds in a more primitive state than the indigenous languages of to-day. Whether it contains sounds and forms that go directly even beyond the Sanskrit stage may justly be doubted. In point of phonetics the Gypsy tongue is of the greatest moment for two reasons. First, this language, itself a dialect, has split up into a number of varieties now (or not so very long ago) spoken by a people dispersed over an area extending from the Gulf of Bengal to the Atlantic Ocean. Second, each of these varieties has been subjected to such external vicissitudes that the preservation in a state of undeniably great affinity with the other sister-varieties can only be explained on the ground of habitual segre-

gation and exclusion of the clan from its immediate surroundings together with the stability of the sounds and the regularity of their changes. Thus the Gypsy dialects offer a confirmation of recognised phonetic laws under exceptional circumstances. Whether even further determinations and modifications of these laws could be derived from the dialects only a closer scrutiny of the material can tell.

The boast of the Mahābhārata that whatever may be found anywhere else is here and whatever is not here does not exist may to a remarkable degree be applied to the book under review, as far as the dialect of the Gypsies of Wales is concerned. We readily and gratefully believe the author when he says:—"Consorting for more than twenty years with the Welsh Kåle, and regarded by them as one of themselves from whom there is nothing to conceal, I have had unique opportunity of studying the people and their tongue. Every Romanī sentence given in the Grammar or Vocabulary is the spontaneous utterance of some Welsh Gypsy, reflecting the life and lore, customs, beliefs, thought and feeling of the race." The book really shows that its author is not only a Scholar-Gypsy but a Gypsy-scholar as well. In Part I: Phonology, the sounds of the language, which are by no means always quite simple, are accurately described and scientifically classified, the sound changes appear carefully observed and recorded, their history is traced from their Indian parent tongue Sanskrit (?) through the changes on Indian soil, in Persia, Armenia, Syria and Byzantine Greece. Naturally it is here and in the Indices in Part IV that the author encountered most of the traps in which any but the wariest linguist may be caught. It is worth noting that the Welsh Gyspy alphabet approaches more the Avestan alphabet than the Sanskrit one. The formation of nominal and verbal stems is systematically and exhaustively dealt with in Part II. So much for the building material of the language; the working elements are treated of in Part III: Inflection and Syntax. Part IV: Vocabulary, pp. 1-410, and the Indices giving Indian, Iranian, Mongol, Modern and Byzantine Greek, Rumanian, Slavic, German, French, English, and Welsh parallels finally make Sampson's work a veritable Thesaurus of the Gypsy tongue. The

painstaking way in which the author went about his self-set task is shown throughout the book as well as by the long list of works used or quoted. If to the enthusiasm, which the author cannot help betraying, such ability and scientific training as his is added, it is after all but natural that the result is nothing short of a landmark in the philology of the Gypsy tongue. This is the merit of the book; slips—even numerous ones—in matters of historical and comparative grammar will not essentially detract from its value as a record of the Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales. It may be sad to learn that this language is dead or in a state of agony as far as its golden and silver age is concerned; it is however consoling to see such a fine monument as Sampson's work erected to it. As for the get up of this volume, suffice it to say that it has been printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

R. ZIMMERMANN, S.J.

MOSLEM ARCHITECTURE. BY E. T. RICHMOND, F.R.I.B.A. (J. G. Forlong Fund, Vol. III) Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1926.

In modern universities it occasionally happens that an advanced research worker finds it difficult to find an examiner for his thesis. Similarly for certain books it is not easy to find a person who is really capable of reviewing them adequately. The present work is one of these. Mere technical knowledge of architecture is not enough; he must be familiar with the architectural monuments of the Moslem East; and some knowledge of the languages of Islam, and especially of Arabic, is indispensable. The present reviewer makes no such claims. This review is written mainly from the point of view of a general student of Islam, its history, civilization and art.

The book is published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and is the third volume of the series published under the patronage of the James G. Forlong Fund. Though small in size, it is written from such a broad and philosophical point of view, that it is likely to become a standard work on the subject. It deals with Moslem architecture from its inception in Arabia in 623 A.D. to the end of the Mameluke Period in Egypt, somewhere about 1516 A.D.

From its very scope, it has nothing to say about the architecture produced in the Maghrib or Moorish Spain or Turkey or India. To Indians, therefore, the appeal of the book is thereby lessened. And I cannot help thinking that if the author had first-hand knowledge of the architecture produced by the Mughal Emperors in Agra and Delhi and Lukhnao, and by the Ādil shāhis in the Deccan, Bijapur and Ahmedabad for example, he might have modified, to some extent at least, the last sentence of his book, where he considers the Mameluke period as 'the most famous period of Moslem architecture.' A comparison of the Mameluke architecture with the Mughal on the one hand, and the Turkish on the other, would be most instructive, and we hope that in time we shall have some one surveying the whole field of Moslem architecture, and attaching to each period and school its proper importance and value. But for a work of that nature, works like those of Sig. Rivoira and Mr. Richmond are indispensable corner-stones.

As an introduction to whatever he has to say in the book, and before actually describing the first monument of Moslem architecture, the Prophet's Mosque at Medina, the author lays down that all architecture is produced by human need; and that 'the buildings stand for the fulfilment of purposes that can be stated.' He therefore does not describe one building after another, merely noticing their differences or pronouncing upon their merits, but discusses in every case the real cause of this development. Hence his book is called 'Moslem Architecture, 623 to 1516: Some causes and consequences', and as such gives to the student a historical perspective which is most valuable. He then begins to describe the Prophet's Mosque basing his account on Ibn Hishām's[1].

Then he goes on to describe the Mosque of Kūfa, the Mosque of 'Amr, the Masjid al-Aqṣā and the Mosque of Damascus. During these descriptions he has carefully noted the change of the Qibla,

[1] On examining, the actual passage quoted, Ibn Hishām, Ed. Wüstenfeld p. 337, I cannot find the details ascribed to him. The account of the Mosque begins on p. 336, last line, and ends with p. 338. Some of the details, however, are to be found in a variant quoted by Wüstenfeld in Vol. II, Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Register, p. 105 (note to p. 338, 4 of the text), from a MS. which he calls E.

and discussed the construction of the Minbar and the Maqṣūra. Finally (p. 29) he discusses the development of the Mosque in view of the three needs, physical, ritual and political.

The most important thing dealt with in the next chapter is the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, 'the earliest existing monument of Moslem architecture.' Here he shows why the architecture of Damascus was so different from that of Baghdad. The reason is historical: the Umaiyads were under the influence of Syrian, the architecture being Western and Byzantine; whereas the Abbāsides were under the spell of Persia, and their architecture was Eastern and Asiatic (p. 49). To us Indians it may be of interest to note that Mr. Richmond seems to agree with Sig. Rivoira, that the multifoil arch came from India (pp. 54 and 72).

The chapter closes with the observation, both profound and true, that though Mesopotamian brick-built Mosques are entirely different from the Syrian stone architecture, their purpose was the same, and this was an outcome of the Arabian Faith. Therefore the Arabian contribution to architecture was of a spiritual and not of a material nature.

Now we come to the 9th century, and we have descriptions of the Mosques of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Egypt, Sīdī 'Uqbā in Qairawan and the Mosque of Cordova in Spain. Discussing the Mosque of Cordova the author shows how much Christian medieval architecture owed to the Moslem East; and that the whole trend of Christian architecture would have been different if Islam had not spread in the manner it actually did.

The next great influence in Moslem architecture is that of the Fatimides; and we are indebted to Mr. Richmond for a very excellent account of the world-famous al-Azhar.

The foundation of Cairo (al-Qāhira) is described in the word of al-Maqrīzī; and later the author points out that if the construction of the Mosque of al-Juyūshī provides evidence of the influence of northern craftsmen, the Gates of Cairo, Bāb al-Naṣr, provide the proof of it (p. 96). The construction of the Mosque remained stationary but the tomb developed, and on pp. 103 and 104 we are given some important features of Fatimide architecture. The Fatimides began to build their Dār al-Ḥikma's (house of science)

as teaching institutions because the mosques were not satisfactory for this purpose; the Madrasa is the Sunni counterpart of the Shī'ite House of Science (106); and we are shown how its construction developed with the needs of the times.

The last chapter deals with the Mameluke Period, the period of Madrasas and tombs, the period about which our author is so enthusiastic. Stone had ousted brick and plaster; Shī'ite craftsmen had come to take refuge in Egypt; stone builders of various nationalities accumulated under the Mameluke rule. The face of Cairo undergoes a radical change, and this complex process produces a series of unsurpassed monuments of Moslem architecture.

The tomb of Shajarat al-Durr, the mausoleum and Madrasa of Sultan Qalāūn, the Madrasas of Sanjar and Sultan Ḥasan, and finally the Madrasas of Barqūq and of Qaītbaī are all graphically described and the glory of Cairo is brought home to us.

The Turks, however, captured Constantinople in 1453, their power increased and they defeated the Mamelukes in 1516. There is a general exodus of craftsmen to the new centre—Qusṭunṭunya, and here the author ends his labours.

The system of transliteration is fairly intelligible, but is neither very accurate nor very consistent. The author is not consistent as regards the use of the signs ʌ and—. Occasionally he uses them promiscuously—to take only two examples:—on p. 125 ^{6,8} we have 'iwân' twice, but 4 lines below we have 'iwān'; and on p. 128 we have 'al-Nāṣir' and 'Nâṣirîya,' whereas on the next page we revert to 'al-Nâṣir.' On page 86, Ref. No. 3 is to the Encyclopædia (not Dictionary) of Islam, i, 422, b. There is some confusion in the transliteration here. The first term is correct; the second should be "Masjid li' l-jum'a"; the third, "Masjid jāmi'" and the fourth, "al-jāmi'". Sometimes the sign ʌ has been placed where it ought not to be, *e.g.*, 129^{9} "Shajarat al-Dûrr"; p. 132, 4th line from below, we have "Zâwîya", whereas practically in the same line, in the note to fig. 47, we have the correct "Zâwiya"; and p. 143, 8th line from below, "al-Mû'ayyad". And sometimes it is omitted where it ought to be placed; on p. 128^{19} we have the correct "Ṣaliḥîya", but 3 lines below we find "Ṣaliḥîya."

The word written 'Khanqa' (see Index) is really the common Persian word 'Khānqāh.' I wonder if the shortened form is more common in Egypt or whether it is an oversight.

The references are not given in the footnotes as usual, but indicated by bold Arabic numerals and collected together at the end of a chapter. This is an uncommon, and to my mind, not a very desirable method. The cursory reader hardly ever stops to look up a reference; but to the student it is rather irksome to go to the end of the chapter, look up the reference, then go back to the text and so on. The texts of al-Maqrīzī and al-Muqaddasī are unfortunately not available to me, and therefore I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the references or the correctness of the renderings, of the most important passages quoted in the work. Of the other works cited, I have also no access to Major Cresswell's among other works, hence nothing very useful about references can be said in this place. I only wish the author had indicated the passages relied upon in certain cases, more accurately. Very often he merely gives the name of a work without reference to the page, or fails to give the edition from which he cites. This is not satisfactory.

Considering the nature of the book, it is singularly free from misprints. I have noted the following:—

p. 30, footnote, 23 'at' instead of 'al-Siuti'; p. 55, 1. 1. 'Anuvath' instead of 'Amurath'; p. 56 title of chapter 'Sûdû' instead of 'Sîdî'; p. 84, 5th line from below 'storeis' instead of 'storeys' or 'stories' and p. 117 1.20 'caravanserail' where the letter l should be absent.

The author has chosen a comely garb for his work; it is well printed, and contains numerous plans and illustrations. There is a useful index at the end.

A. A. A. Fyzee.

Bhagavadajjukiyam: A Prahasana (Comedy) Ed. by P. Anujan Achan, with a Commentary, Critical Notes and Introduction; with a Preface by Dr. Winternitz, Prague. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is a very interesting work from several points of view. It makes an important addition to the *prahasana* literature published so far by Sanskrit scholars. In a brief but learned preface Dr. Winternitz discusses how the work under review raises many new problems, particularly in connection with dramaturgy, and the Bhāsa riddle. In his introduction Mr. P. Anujan Achan, who was a pupil of Dr. Winternitz at the Viśvabhāratī University, deals with several interesting questions, such as the MSS. used for the edition, the plot of the play, its relation to the Mattavilāsa *prahasana* of Mahendra-Vikrama-Varman, the technique of the play, its merits, its importance for the history of the Kerala stage, the date of the author. The work contains the name of neither the play nor the playwright. But one manuscript and the introductory verse of the commentary ascribe the play to Bodhāyana-kavi. From the fact that the play exhibits Buddhism to have been in a state of decline and from its comparison with the Mattavilāsa, the learned editor is inclined to assign to the play a date some centuries earlier than the 7th century A. D. The commentary is shown to have been composed about the beginning of the 17th century. The editor notices the peculiarities of his Mss. in writing prakrit passages, *e.g.*, writing *ajja* or *ayya* as *aoa*. The plot centres round the comic situation supposed to have been created by the soul of a Yogin having entered the dead body of a courtesan and the soul of the latter having been placed in the Yogin's body. The commentary tries in every place to spin out some esoteric meaning from the plain words of the drama.

The conclusion at which the learned editor arrives on the date of the work is not quite acceptable. If popular Buddhism is shown to have fallen from its high pedestal, we have other passages where (page 8) Brāhmaṇas are referred to as extremely degraded. Buddha is styled Bhagavān Jina (page 50) and the Piṭaka works are referred to. When the author parades his knowledge of the Sikkhāpadas (p. 52) and of the three Śaraṇas (Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, he is probably not writing from personal contact with the living Buddhistic faith, but is quoting from books. The name Vasantasenā of the courtesan is somewhat suspicious and reminds one of the *Toycart*. There is a long prose prakrit passage full of com-

pounds on pp. 37-8, but of the 36 verses of the play, 11 are in the Śloka metre, while the Āryā and Vasantatilakā occur in 6 places each. The other metres are Upajāti (4), Praharṣiṇī, Mālinī, Sragdharā (1 each), Vaṁśastha (4) and Śārdūlavikrīdita (2).

It is not unlikely that the work is comparatively a later composition, belonging to the period between the 6th and 10th centuries A. D.

P. V. K.

THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS. BY WALTER ADDISON JAYNE, M.D., New Haven : Yale University Press, 1925.

Long and weary has been the path that humanity has had to travel to reach the modern position of thinking in terms of natural causation. Supernatural agents, created by man's imagination were his explanations of the goods and ills of this world. Once created, they afforded him solace, enlivened his hopes and, strangely enough, caused him untold worries. In his attempt to multiply the goods and cure the ills man applied to these agents.

Though positive good is the work only of the benign agents, evil may be the result not only of the wayward activities of the malignant agents but also of the wrath of the beneficent ones. People admitting the existence of the two kinds of supernatural agents, try to pacify with offerings and sacrifices the evil agent that may be accredited, in their system, with the specific ill, often mixing therewith judicious threats and cajolery. In his dealing with the beneficent powers man has assumed the following attitudes, either singly or in combination: first, that certain rites with the accompaniments of incantations procure the desired result; second, that these rites and incantations can command the supernatural powers to grant his desires; third, that the powers have to be appeased with offerings and sacrifices; fourth, that the supernatural must be moved to pity by prayers.

Disease, one of the greatest of ills befalling humanity, was looked upon as either the actual entrance of an evil spirit into the sufferer's body through one of its many openings, the magic influence of a sorcerer or of an enemy or of an evil eye; or else a pathological condition induced either by the wrath of an evil (or good) agent or

by sin. Epidemics like that of smallpox were regarded as being under the control of special godlings. The remedies used were first, exorcism of all sorts, including branding in so far as that operation was thought able to drive away malignant influence; second, offerings of sacrifices; third, making of vows; fourth, penitence, fasts and prayers. These might be used either singly or in combination, very often accompanied by the administration of certain herbs as well as other organic and inorganic substances. This administration of medicine was at first of secondary importance, its efficacy depending on the correctness ofone or more of the above-mentioned remedies employed at the time; but later on the supernatural appeal either came to be regarded as a necessary appanage to the medical remedy, or was resorted to only to find out the correct recipe for an ailment. Amulets and talismans served as prophylactics.

Thus before the rise of natural sciences the attitude towards disease essentially depended on the general ideas about the supernatural. The author of the book under review undertook the study with a view to elucidating this relation between therapeutic practice and spiritual life of the peoples of ancient civilizations. The introduction presents a general summary of the ideas about disease and its cure found in the religious texts and mythologies of these peoples. Then the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Indians, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Celts are taken in order. In each case we are first given their general outlook on religious healing; and then the gods connected with any aspect of the medical art are described. The author finds that except the Greeks no other people of antiquity had any special god whose sole function was that of a healer. Any god was invoked to aid man on the strength of his well-known beneficence. The long descriptions of the gods, therefore, are not only not essential but tend to stultify the purpose of the study. The value of this work could be enhanced by the addition of some chapters on the therapeutic practices of the Chinese and the ancient peoples of America.

G. S. Ghurye.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society

Annual Report for 1925.

New admissions to membership have been fewer during the year under report, the number of members now being 693 against 701 at the close of 1924. It is hoped that members will bring the attractions of the Society's library before more persons of culture and literary tastes, so that the membership may show a steady increase.

Progress has been made with several matters mentioned in the last report. Under the able supervision of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the General Editor, the first number of the New Series of the Journal appeared in April 1925. Scholars have spoken highly of this number, both as regards matter and get up, in private letters to the Editor and in reviews. The second number was published in November. It has been decided to publish the Journal at half-yearly intervals.

It is the privilege of each member to receive free a copy of the Journal when published. It was, however, felt that the highly special and technical character of the Journal did not appeal to several members, and as the result of inquiry by a circular letter to all members, it has been decided to print a reduced number of copies so as to effect some saving in the printing charges.

Principal Gladstone Solomon kindly prepared a clay model of the proposed Silver Medal and submitted it for the opinion of the Managing Committee; slight alterations were suggested which are being carried out.

The first volume of the Manuscripts Catalogue has been printed. It contains Manuscripts of technical science and covers 148 pages. The complete catalogue will consist of four volumes.

A Provident Fund was started in January 1924 for the benefit of the Society's employees. In consideration of their previous services it has been decided to grant pensions to the clerical staff and gratuities to the peons proportionate to their length of service and salary on 1st January 1924, provided that the total service put in by each employee is 25 years (unless incapacitated) on retirement and that his service has been satisfactory.

Government have stopped the contribution of Rs. 50 per month which they granted to the Geographical Society and which this Society received since the amalgamation of the two societies in 1873. A request has been made to Government not only to restore this grant but to increase their contribution to the Society. It is hoped that a favourable reply will be received from Government.

Additional shelving has been erected in the File Room to receive the periodical literature now stored in the galleries of the main rooms. Congestion in more important sections of the library is so great that more room for expansion is urgently needed. With a view to relieve this congestion it is proposed to remove the entire collection of the periodical literature to the ground floor. The only room at the disposal of the Society on that floor is too small to hold all this collection, and the Society has requested the Collector of Bombay to allot more space on the ground floor, and it is hoped that this will be done in the near future.

The Card Catalogue is making steady progress, more than 5,000 cards being added during the year under review.

The entire body of the rules and regulations of the Society is undergoing revision, and the Sub-Committee appointed for the purpose has nearly completed its labours.

The circulation of periodicals is very unsatisfactory and has been a fruitful source of complaints from members. The Society takes only one copy of most of the magazines and newspapers it subscribes to, and the demand is inreasingly becoming so heavy that it has become extremely difficult to satisfy members. The question of either stopping the circulation altogether or taking more than one copy of the more popular periodicals is now before the Managing Committee.

With a view to explore the ways and means of co-operation between the Society and the University Library in the matter of purchase and loan of books, representatives of the two institutions have met and discussed the possibility of co-operation, and have made certain recommendations to their respective Committees. A similar attempt of co-operation is being made between the Society and the Prince of Wales Museum. Representatives have been appointed to meet and discuss the matter.

Members.

RESIDENT.

On the roll on 1-1-25.	New admissions.	Non-Res. become Resident.	Resigned or ceased to be Members.	Transferred to the Non-Res. list.	Died.	Number of Members on 1-1-26.
536	78	3	76	16	4	521

NON-RESIDENT.

On the roll on 1-1-25.	New admissions.	Resident become Non-Res.	Resigned or ceased to be Members.	Transferred to the Res. list.	Died.	Number of Members on 1-1-26.
165	14	16	15	3	5	172

Of the 521 Resident Members, 42 are Life-Members, and of the 172 Non-Resident Members, 12 are Life-Members.

Obituary.

The Committee regret to record the death of the following Members :—

Sir Vasanji Tricamji Mulji.
Mr. Motilal Vallabhji.
Sir Goculdas K. Parekh.
Capt. C. Mackenzie.
Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.
Mr. H. L. Fox.
„ A. Moylan.
Rao Bahadur Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar.
Mr. K. R. Kale.

The Society has put on record its sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the great Oriental scholar, by adopting a fitting resolution at a special general meeting of members in appreciation of his services to Oriental scholarship in general and to this Society in particular.

Papers read and lectures delivered before the Society.

21st January 1925.—A lecture on the Hebrew and Persian Conceptions of Paradise. By the Rev. Dr. P. L. MILLS.

15th April 1925.—The Conception of Islam as a cult. By Fredun D. MULLA, M.A.

10th July 1925.—A lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Caves of Ellora." By Dr. E. H. HUNT, M.A.

6th August 1925.—(1) A Persian Parallel to the Esther Episode of the Bible. By Dr. J. M. UNVALA. (2) The Mezuzah of the Jews compared with a Parsi Nirang. By Dr. J. M. UNVALA.

10th August 1925.—Syntheticism in Indian Iconography, illustrated by lantern slides. By Dr. J. M. UNVALA.

18th September 1925.—A discourse on "Hyderabad Cairn Burials," illustrated by lantern slides. By Dr. E. H. HUNT, M.A.

Library.

The total number of volumes added was 1,803, of which 1,390 were purchased and 413 were presented.

Books presented to the Society were received, as usual, from the Government of India, the Government of Bombay, and other Provincial Governments, as well as from the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds, other public bodies and individual donors.

A meeting of the Society, under Art. XXI of the Rules, was held on the 18th of November for the purpose of revising the list of the papers and periodicals received by the Society, and it was decided—

(*a*) to continue the following which were subscribed to since the last revision :—

(1) *Homes and Gardens,* (2) *Tracts of the Society for Pure English* and (3) *Jain Gazette,*

(*b*) to discontinue English Place Names Society's publications, and

(*c*) to add the following from 1926 :

(1) *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research,* (2) *New India (Weekly),* (3) *Theosophist,* (4) *Physical Culture,* (5) *Nash's Magazine,* (6) *International Studio,* (7) *Survey Graphic,* (8) *Architects' Journal,* (9) *New Era,* (10) *Current History Magazine,* (11) *National Geographic Magazine, and* (12) *Adelphi.*

The Journal.

Two numbers of the New Series were published during the year, the first in April and the second in November. The following are the principal articles in the numbers :—

No. I.—

1. Sten Konow—Name and designations of the ruler mentioned in the Ara Inscription.

2. D. B. Diskalkar—Some unpublished copper-plates of the rulers of Valabhi.
3. G. V. Acharya—Notes on some unpublished Valabhi copper-plates belonging to B. B. R. A. Society.
4. A. Master —Stress accent in modern Gujarati.
5. P. V. Kane—The Tantravartika and the Dharmasastra literature.
6. V. S. Sukthankar—Studies in Bhasa (VI).
7. N. B. Divatia—The oblique form and the dative suffix—*s* in Marathi.
8. H. Heras—The Portuguese alliance with the Muhammedan kingdoms of the Deccan.
9. V. S. Sukthankar—The Bhasa Riddle ; A proposed solution.
10. C. V. Vaidya—The date of the Bhagavata Purana.

No. 2.—

1. P. V. Kane—Predecessors of Vijnaneswara.
2. J. M. Unvala—Syntheticism in Indian Iconography.
3. S. K. Aiyangar—Panchamahasabda in the Rajatarangini.
4. K. R. Pisharoti—Kerala-nataka-chakra.
5. H. D. Velankar—Prince Sambhaji as a Poet.

The numbers, besides these articles, contain brief notes, reports and summaries, reviews, proceedings of the Society (annual report) and a list of Fellows and Members.

Coin Cabinet.

45 coins were added to the Coin Cabinet of the Society during the year under report. The coins were of the following description :—

SOUTH INDIAN.

Gold :

1 Devaraya of Vijayanagara.
1 Achyutaraya ,,
1 Harihara ,,

Bombay Government.

RASHTRAKUTA.

Silver :

3 Krishnaraja.

PUNCH MARKED.

Silver :

3 Rectangular.
1 Round.
3 ,, small.

MUGHAL.

Silver :

1 Shah Jahan.

Bombay Government.

1	Aurangzebe	..	..	Surat ..	..	× × × 2—1 ×
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	—22
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1090—23
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1091—23
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1093—25
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1093—26
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1095—27
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1101—33
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1109—41
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1111—43
1	Do.	..	..	,, ..	..	1103—3 ×

C. P. Government.

1	Do.	..	..	..	..

Bombay Government.

1	Shah Alam	..	..	Benares	..	1214—26
1	Do.	..	..	,,	..	1220—26
1	Do.	..	..	,,	..	1228—26
1	Do.	..	..	,,	..	1229—26
1	Do.	..	..	,,	..	1233—26

U. P. Government.

2	Muhammad Shah	Surat
1	Do.	Bombay
2	Do.	
1	Ahdma Shah	

Bombay Government.

GUJARAT SULTANAT.

Copper :

1	Ahmad Shah II.	85 ×
2	Do.	,,
2	Do.	,,

C. P. Government.

MALWA.

Copper :

3 Hoshangshah.

C. P. Government.

Treasure Trove Coins.

There were 2,952 coins with the Society at the close of 1924 and 510 were received during the year. The details of the latter are :—

3 Gold & 64 Silver	from the Mamlatdar of Dindori.
410 Silver	from the Collector of Thana, and
33 Gold	from the Mamlatdar of Hubli.

Of these 3,462 coins, the following were returned :—

1,886 to the Collector of Satara out of 1,928 received from him in 1924, being of no numismatic importance.

4 to the Mamlatdar of Bassein received from him in 1924, being no Treasure Trove coins.

410 to the Collector of Thana, having not much numismatic value.

Of the remaining 1,162 coins, 172 (finds from Sinnar, Chorasi, Dharwar and Parner) were distributed during 1925, thereby leaving with the Society at the close of last year 990 coins which are awaiting examination or distribution.

Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A., and Mr Ch. Mahammad Ismail, M.A., Curator and Assistant Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, were good enough to continue their kind services to the Society in the examination of Treasure Trove coins, and the Society takes this opportunity of thanking them warmly for these services.

Accounts.

A statement of receipts and disbursements during 1925 is subjoined. The total amount of entrance fees was Rs. 1,780 and subscriptions Rs. 29,972 as against Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 29,918 the previous year. The balance to the Society's credit, at the Bank and the cash in hand, was Rs. 8,693-6-1 on December 31st last.

The Government securities held by the Society, including those of the Premchand Roychand Fund and the Catalogue Fund, are of the face value of Rs. 43,100.

Government was pleased to sanction Rs. 2,000 for shelving in 1925.

STATEMENT

The Bombay Branch

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

INCOME.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31-12-24		9,547 6 6
Subscription of Resident Members	26,135 8 0	
,, of Non-Resident Members ..	3,837 0 0	
Government Contribution	5,000 0 0	
Sale Proceeds of Journal Numbers	973 3 4	
,, of Annual Catalogues ..	48 12 0	
,, of Waste paper	58 0 0	
Interest on Govt. Securities and Savings Bank	1,874 13 3	
Entrance Fee	1,780 0 0	
		39,707 4 7
Government Grant for Shelving	2,000 0 0	
Subscription of Resident Life Members ..	1,500 0 0	
General Catalogue, sale and Interest ..	402 8 0	
Replacement	180 9 6	
Folklore Notes, New Edition	131 2 0	
		4,214 3 6
Total Rs. ..		53,468 14 7

We have examined the account books and vouchers and have obtained satisfactory information and explanation on all points desired. In our opinion the accounts as drawn up show the true and correct state of the affairs of the Society.

A. B. AGASKAR,
H. E. JONES,
Hon. Auditors.

Royal Asiatic Society.

Accounts for the Year 1925.

EXPENDITURE.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Books	9,081 0 8	
Subscription of Indian Newspapers	726 10 0	
„ to Foreign Newspapers.. ..	2,572 0 0	
Binding and Books-repairs	1,874 14 0	
Printing and Stationery	2,666 9 0	
Printing Journal Numbers	1,813 3 0	
Office Establishment	16,582 2 6	
General Charges	750 2 0	
Postage	436 15 6	
Provident Fund Contribution	1,318 13 10	
Insurance	468 12 0	
Electric Charges	597 2 10	
Annual Library Checking	500 0 0	
		39,388 5 4
Gratuity	250 0 0	
Shelving and Furniture	2,068 3 0	
Temporary Establishment for Card Catalogue	708 6 2	
Government Securities	950 10 0	
General Catalogue	410 0 0	
Mss. Catalogue	1,000 0 0	
		5,387 3 2
Balance including Rs. 317-7-3 of the General Catalogue Fund).		
Imperial Bank of India—Current Account	708 5 10	
„ „ —Savings Bank	7,929 11 5	
Amount in Hand	55 4 10	
		8,693 6 1
Total Rs. ..		53,468 14 7

Invested Funds of the Society.

Government Securities ..	@ 6 p.c. ..	1,100 0 0	
„ „ ..	„ 5 p.c. ..	9,800 0 0	
„ „ ..	„ 3½ p.c. ..	25,700 0 0	
Premchand Roychand Fund	„ 3½ p.c. ..	3,000 0 0	
Catalogue Fund ..	„ 5 p.c. ..	3,500 0 0	
			43,100 0 0

The Society's property and collections have been insured for three lakhs of rupees.

L. W. H. YOUNG,
Hon. Secretary.

J. S. TILLEY,
Hon. Financial Secretary.

Provident Fund of the Society.

A Statement of Accounts for the two years ending 31st December 1925.

	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Amount paid in by the Staff, 1924	1,231	12	8	Cost of 5% Govt. Loan for Rs. 2,000	1,988	9	9
Do. do. 1925	1,327	1	5	Stamp deposit fee	11	1	0
Do. do. by the Society, 1924 ..	1,211	10	8	Amount paid to employees who resigned or died	81	3	8
Do. do. 1925 ..	1,322	9	5	Balance in Bank	3,180	14	5
Interest	168	10	8				
Total Rs. ..	5,261	12	10	Total Rs. ..	5,261	12	10

Investments:—
5% Govt. Loan 1929-47 .. Rs. 2,000.

A. B. AGASKAR,
H. E. JONES,
Hon. Auditors.

The Campbell Memorial Fund.

A Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st December 1925.

	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
By Balance on 31st December 1924	340	5	4	Balance on 31-12-25 (in the Imperia Bank of India)	537	9	4
Interest, less Bank Commission and Income Tax	197	4	0				
Total Rs. ..	537	9	4	Total Rs. ..	537	9	4

Invested Funds:—
5 per cent. Government Loan 1929-47..Rs. 4,000-0-0.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . . . *a*	औ . . . . . *au*	ठ . . . . . *ṭh*	भ . . . . . *bh*
आ . . . . . *ā*	क . . . . . *k*	ड . . . . . *ḍ*	म . . . . . *m*
इ . . . . . *i*	ख . . . . *kh*	ढ . . . . . *ḍh*	य . . . . . *y*
ई . . . . . *ī*	ग . . . . . *g*	ण . . . . . *ṇ*	र . . . . . *r*
उ . . . . . *u*	घ . . . . . *gh*	त . . . . . *t*	ल . . . . . *l*
ऊ . . . . . *ū*	ङ . . . . . *ṅ*	थ . . . . . *th*	व . . . . . *v*
ऋ . . . . . *ṛ*	च . . . . . *c*	द . . . . . *d*	श . . . . . *ś*
ॠ . . . . . *ṝ*	छ . . . . . *ch*	ध . . . . . *dh*	ष . . . . . *ṣ*
ऌ . . . . . *ḷ*	ज . . . . . *j*	न . . . . . *n*	स . . . . . *s*
ए . . . . . *e*	झ . . . . . *jh*	प . . . . . *p*	ह . . . . . *h*
ऐ . . . . . *ai*	ञ . . . . . *ñ*	फ . . . . . *ph*	ळ . . . . . *ḻ*
ओ . . . . . *o*	ट . . . . . *ṭ*	ब . . . . . *b*	

◌ं (*Anusvāra*) . . . . . *ṁ*	× (*Jihvāmūlīya*) . . . . . *ḫ*
◌ँ (*Anunāsika*) . . . . . *m̐*	≍ (*Upadhmānīya*) . . . . . *ḥ*
ः (*Visarga*) . . . . . *ḥ*	ऽ (*Avagraha*) . . . . . '

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic.

ا . . . . . *a*	ز . . . . . *z*	ق . . . . . *q*	ـِ . . . *i* or *e*
ب . . . . . *b*	س . . . . . *s*	ك . . . . . *k*	ـُ . . . *u* or *o*
ت . . . . . *t*	ش . . . . . *sh*	ل . . . . . *l*	ـَا . . . . *ā*
ث . . . . . *th*	ص . . . . . *ṣ*	م . . . . . *m*	ـِي . . . *ī*, *e*
ج . . . . . *j*	ض . . . . . *ẓ*	ن . . . . . *n*	ـُو . . . *ū*, *o*
ح . . . . . *ḥ*	ط . . . . . *ṭ*	و . . . . . *w*	ـَي . . . . *ai*
خ . . . . . *kh*	ظ . . . . . *ẓ*	ه . . . . . *h*	ـَو . . . . *au*
د . . . . . *d*	ع . . . . . ‘	ي . . . . . *y*	silent t . . . *ḥ*
ذ . . . . . *ẓ*	غ . . . . . *gh*	ء . . . . . ’	
ر . . . . . *r*	ف . . . . . *f*	ـَ . . . . . *a*	

Persian.

پ . . . . . *p*	چ . . . . . *ch*	ژ . . . . . *zh*	گ . . . . . *g*

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